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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

DEMOCRACY, SOCIALISM, AND ADULT EDUCATION IN NICARAGUA

BY

ELIZABETH LANGE CHRISTENSEN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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IN

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled DEMOCRACY, SOCIALISM, AND ADULT EDUCATION IN NICARAGUA submitted by ELIZABETH LANGE CHRISTENSEN in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in International and Comparative Education.

Supervisor

Date: 12th October 1988

DEDICATION

To the long-suffering people of Nicaragua, in solidarity.

ABSTRACT

Two factors have constituted the background for this study. First, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has stated its intention to attempt a transition to socialism despite the complexity and difficulty of the issues that they must resolve as a small, poor, agrarian-based society. Second, state education offered through formal schooling has been predominately a means of social control, ideological training, and skill formation. With this understanding, the research task was to describe the historical context of the revolution, examine the general features of the transition, and analyze and assess the possible role that popular adult education can play within the transition. The conclusions are that Nicaragua is developing the democratic foundations for a transition to socialism and that the control of popular adult education must devolve from the state to the mass organizations in order to be an integral part of the transition. This can only occur through the dynamism of the mass organizations and their persistent and consistent pressure on the state.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

On July 19, 1979, the people of Nicaragua embarked on the formidable task of revolutionizing their society. The victory over the Somoza dynasty was only one significant moment that can neither be separated from previous historical forces nor from the Sandinista vision and strategies for creating a new society. Inherent in this context, are both constraints and possibilities that together condition the ongoing revolutionary process. This study proposes to explore the nature of Nicaraguan society and describe the general features of its transition in order to analyze and assess the possible role that adult education can play in this process.

The Context of the Transition

Nicaragua exists as a small, dependent economy on the periphery of the modern global capitalist system. As a third world nation that was colonized and imperialized,[1] the nature of its national development has differed substantially from that of first and second world countries.

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1 Imperialism is used here to denote the extension of national power by a country so as to gain sovereignty of influence over other nations, either through military, political, or economic means. Lenin has stated that imperialism is the highest state of capitalism as the falling rate of profit impels the search for new international markets and resources. Colonization is used here to indicate the dominance of a country over another where the dominated retain their language and customs, but develop allegiances of the colonizing country. Colonization may occur for political, social, religious, or economic reasons.

The agro-export development of Latin America, in particular, was necessary to augment Northern industrial development. Thus, the internal productive system and societal relations in Nicaragua developed in relation to its external dependency, in which the core dynamic of capital accumulation existed outside its national borders.

The revolutionary struggles in the Third World have not resulted, as Marx predicted, from the growing contradictions of a fully developed capitalism that would provide the conditions for a radicalized proletariat to act with full class consciousness to overthrow capitalist society. Rather, the revolutionary movements have issued out of the failure of capitalism to develop the Third World through a similar linear progession that the Northern industrialized nations experienced (Fagen, Deere, Coraggio, 1986, p. 15). The rapacity of imperialism in the Third World and its national concomitant of brutal repression and perpetual poverty have stirred nationalist reactions and, in some cases, the desire to construct socialist alternatives, either through armed or peaceful means.

The Transition to Socialism

Although Marx developed an elaborate theory analyzing the capitalist mode of production, he did not complete a political theory analyzing the bourgeois state and he did not develop a theory of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Subsequent theorists have undertaken this task but their results cannot be separated from their assumptions

about the ultimate nature of a socialist society. The attempt below is to sketch broadly the major features of socialism to guide the following discussion.

Socialism in the Marxian sense is understood as the mode of production that comprises the transition stage between capitalism and full communism. Socialism is an initial stage towards communism and, in this respect, a revolutionary society may be considered in transition to the transition. Socialism has a dynamic nature that simultaneously incorporates elements of both capitalism and communism and whose culmination is reached in the total restructuring of society, ways of working, forms of power, habits, and values (Mittelman, 1981, p. 231). Advocates of socialism envisage a society characterized by equality, particularly equal rights, and the elimination of all forms of domination by individuals over each other, namely a classless society.

Much debate surrounds the issue of what such a society would look like and how to get there. The issues raised include: whether interim private property violates the essential thrust; whether the interim state should be characterized by democratic centralism or participatory democracy achieved through intraparty or interparty discussion; whether a certain stage of development of the productive forces is required as a prerequisite for the transition or whether an 'underdeveloped', agrarian-based society can undertake a socialist transformation; whether a

transition can only be initiated through the political act of a takeover of state power through armed struggle or whether a peaceful and parliamentary transition can occur; and whether any nation is capable of reaching socialism without a global socialist transformation.

The first assumption of this study is that a Third World country can indeed embark on a transition to socialism premised on the understanding that (i) a totally uniform pattern for achieving it is not possible, given dynamic historical specificity and (ii) that the process can only be consummated internationally.[2] The criteria for assessing a transition to socialism must be carefully ground in the determination of whether the actions weaken capitalism and take a nation closer to socialism. These general attributes consist of an increasingly planned society, weakening of market and private property mechanisms, and reducing social differentiation based on production. The transitional society will also necessarily involve class struggle as the manifestation of the competition between the two modes of production.

An essential attribute of socialism is the democratic process where people control the main aspects of their lives through mutual participation[3] in decision making. The

---

2 This statement will remain at the level of assumption as it would be impossible to completely defend it within the confines of this study.

3 Participation means here more than the right to vote, the right to representation, the right to be heard, or the right to consent; it includes rather the right to decide.

paradox of democracy, however, is that despite one person's belief in certain policies that uphold democratic choice, the adoption of these policies is subject to the choice of the whole community which may choose not to uphold the individual's particular choices and that the community's alternative choices may weaken the democratic process itself. Thus, a person must necessarily be willing to accept conflicting beliefs where the process of democratic choice takes priority over content of the choice.

Thus, the second assumption of this study is that a democratic transition to socialism is possible but that it is reliant on the ongoing process of rising class consciousness and political education to enable the people to define socialism for themselves, how they intend to arrive there (which may change over time), and how they will actively participate in the transition. It is the role of the leadership to initiate that process and to allow the space for this process to occur and be taken up by the people. This requires trusting the people[4] as they involve themselves in this revolutionary action, for even if the end

4 This statement cannot be dealt with fully in the context of this thesis as it addresses one of the fundamental contradictions in Lenin's work where he considered the vanguard to hold power in trust for the proletariat as they cannot be trusted initially and where this power is concentrated in a centrally organized party that acts and speaks in the name of the proletariat; but where this proletariat state machinery will wither away once all antagonistic production relations have ceased. Rosa Luxemburg addressed Lenin's theory of the vanguard and argued that it did not respect the will of the people, that it would result in tyranny, and prevent the ability of the proletariat to control society.

is indeterminate to a certain extent, if Marxist analysis is accurate and the goals worthy, then they will embrace its challenge. The transition period is the time and space where the nature of socialism is worked out. The criteria for assessing this transition to socialism is how people are organized and how decisions are made. Exploring even one aspect of a revolutionary society, such as education, should provide a window through which to view the transition.

Nicaragua as a Transitional Society

Nicaraguans have stated their intention to attempt a transition to socialism. Although ideological self-definition is not a reliable indicator of actual socialist policies and practices, it is helpful to discern intentions as a guide to accurate assessment.

In a speech given on February 26, 1983, Victor Tirado of the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) National Directorate responded as follows to the Sandinista Workers' Federation (CST) concerning their desire for socialism and the complexities of achieving it.

> Finally, I want to direct my remarks to a subject that has been present in workers' discussions and on the minds of many companeros. This is the question of socialism.
>
> The Nicaraguan working class - we believe its big majority - sees socialism as the radical long-term solution (and some see it as the short-term solution) to its problems. Ideas about what socialism will be or should be in Nicaragua are still diffuse, not very clear, and it is natural that it be that way.
>
> At the right moment we will embark on the road to socialism but before traveling this path it is essential, necessary, indispensable to have a very clear idea of the steps that we are going to take.

> It is necessary to take into account that socialism is going to be constructed in a backward country, without large-scale industry, and in a country whose economy basically revolves around agriculture and the processing of agricultural products. In a country that has few trained cadres to organize, administer, and direct industrial, agricultural, and service enterprises; that has a cultural backwardness that has been overcome, but not completely, and that is struggling to provide all workers at least a fourth-grade education; a country that has a very small accumulation of capital, and for that reason only a distant perspective for the creation of large-scale industry.
>
> In a nutshell, socialism will not be constructed starting from great abundance, as would be ideal, but rather from the little that we have....
>
> ...We do not say this out of desire to create discouragement, but rather to show the complexity, the magnitude of the task we will be embarking on at the time we decide to take the socialist road (Tirado, 1983, pp. 99-100).

The complexity of the transitional process is heightened by the existence of elements inherited from the old order, which the nation is determined to shed, and by the embryonic elements present in the society which anticipate the new order. For the small, impoverished Nicaragua, the transition process means facing the juxtaposition of overwhelming constraints and tentative possibilities, some of which are delineated below.

In the situation of war, scarcity, and a low development of productive forces, centralized planning is required to facilitate simultaneously an efficient use of resources, an increase in production, and the defence of self-determination. Yet this prevents popular participation wherein practice would prepare the population for further responsibility in assuming control of national development.

A society conditioned by imperialism is structured to perpetuate export trade but this reintroduces the impact of international market forces on an economy and society that is seeking a measure of self-sufficiency and a fundamental transformation. Sustaining revolutionary fervour provides the impetus for important mass mobilizations, such as literacy and health campaigns, yet these military models may encourage authoritarianism and in the long term reduce mobilizational capacity. The delicate balance between the accumulation of capital required to increase the long term productive capacity of the economy and the short term provision of tangible material benefits, including an increase in the social wage, is crucial to consolidate the legitimacy of the new state. The perceived need for an 'elite' vanguard[5] party that is firmly directing the transition period while concurrently enhancing the consciousness of the working class, risks the long term consequence of a state bureaucracy that is unresponsive to the sector they claim to represent. This would effectively alienate the population from both economic and political decision making and obviate the democratic spirit of socialism. However, a 'democratic mass' party[6] that

---

5 Lenin considered the vanguard to be the most advanced group in understanding and leading the transition to socialism. The vanguard was to provide a disciplined guidance and forced unity upon a working class that is disorganized and easily subverted by bourgeois promises.

6 Rosa Luxemburg developed this concept in contrast to Lenin's concept of the vanguard party and argued that freedoms of the press and of expression were essential to building democratic socialism and ensuring that the

incorporates competition and criticism risks diluting practices that favour the 'logic of the majority'[7] and the reversion to the 'logic of capital', or rather the logic of the minority, through the participation of a population uncognizant of its 'real' class interests and its historic role in the strategies for attaining a socialist society. Thus, a mixed economy and political pluralism may retard a long term transition to socialism. The orienting of political practice towards a state apparatus prevents the development of new forms and units of participation, such as mass organizations, that restore the decision making process to those whom it directly affects, particularly the labourers, over the productive process. Yet a state apparatus that is required to negotiate the war and manage scarcity may subordinate the class struggle to the overriding need for national unity in order to defend the revolution at the expense of forging a proletarian project or allowing mass organization autonomy. A state-controlled system of adult education may restrict popular participation in education that would provide creativity and relevance to immediate production and community needs, Yet state-controlled education can build proletarian hegemony and long term technical capacity for production. Given these complex

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workers were able to represent their interests.

7 This phrase was coined by the Sandinistas to mean that the rationality of national production, distribution, and consumption would be socially determined and that priority would be given to those who did not benefit from the logic of capital.

issues, there are few models, particularly non-authoritarian models, available to peripheral countries like Nicaragua to assist with their transition experience.

It is certainly outside the scope of this study to analyze each of these issues and their relation to each other, but an attempt will be made to describe Nicaragua's transitional strategies, the particular problems arising from them, and to assess whether Nicaragua is in the period of a transition to socialism. It will be hypothesized that Nicaragua is laying the democratic foundations for a transition to socialism.

The Approach of the Study

The approach to be utilized in this study will be to analyze Sandinista revolutionary praxis[8] by considering the internal relations in society. The discrimination between the 'base' or economic structure comprised of the forces and relations of production shall be rejected on the basis that social reality cannot be conceived of as separate, exclusive spheres or levels that merely interact with and correspond to each other in predictable ways. Marx states in Wage

---

8 The word praxis is derived from a Greek concept meaning 'informed, committed action' as distinct from traditions or habitual practice. Aristotle considered praxis to be practical reasoning rather than theoretical reasoning. Hegel, in turn, used the concept to portray the inseparability of belief and action. In Marxist theory, and as used here, the term revolutionary praxis means that activity which negates the possibility of false consciousness as the essential nature of social reality becomes known and as the claims of Marxist analysis are assessed and perceived as true through the means of revolutionary action (Scruton, 1982, p. 368).

Labour and Capital,

> In production, men [sic] enter into relation not only with nature. They produce only by cooperating in a certain way and mutually exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations with one another, and only within these social connections and relations does their relation with nature, does production, take place (Marx, 1847, p. 211)...Production by an isolated individual outside society...is as much of an absurdity as is the development of language without individuals living together and talking to each other (Marx, 1857, p. 84).

Without the relations of production, the material forces of production could not exist and therefore the distinction is artificial. Human beings are always within social relations and so are all of their activities, thus the material and social are just different aspects of the same phenomena. Derek Sayer provides an example,

> ...neither wage-labour nor capital, for instance, can for Marx be defined 'in themselves', as autonomous particulars, conceivable independently of one another. Nor can they properly be understood as externally 'interacting' on one another. Each is what it is only by virtue of its relation to the other, and must be conceptualized accordingly. The concept of capital implicitly contains that of wage-labour, and vice versa (Sayer, 1987, p. 19).

Marx also states,

> ...the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers (Marx, 1883, p. 483).

In analyzing the internal relations of capitalist production it is clear that the relations take the form of classes. Therefore an examination of class relations is pivotal to our discussion.

Similarly, just as the production forces (the material)

cannot be separated from production relations (the social), neither can the base (the economic structure) be separated from the superstructure (the political structure including ideology, ideas, and non-economic institutions). Production cannot be separated from society's conception of it or from the institutions that are created to reproduce or transform the specific form of production. For instance, the process of coming to regard property as private evolved over time to fully manifest itself in contemporary capitalist society. Marx is clear that property cannot be an idea distinct from the social relations under which production is carried out. Therefore, the economic/political distinction is artificial because they are different aspects of the same phenomena.[9] Marx states in The Poverty of Philosophy,

> In each historical epoch, property has developed differently and under a set of entirely different social relations. Thus to define bourgeois property is nothing else than to give an exposition of all the social relations of bourgeois production. To try and give a definition of property as of an independent relation, a category apart, an abstract and eternal idea, can be nothing but an illusion of metaphysics or jurisprudence (Marx, 1847a, p. 227).

The result of this interpretation is that any Marxist analysis must be empirical in that it is grounded in the specific reality it seeks to explain so that it does not simply become a theoretical exercise. Sandinista respect for scientific Marxist theory is not undervalued by their

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9 The term `political economy' will be used to indicate that economics cannot be isolated from the political.

pragmatic[10] practice in transforming their society or their particular analysis that grows out of Nicaragua's unique history. Engels concisely asserted in a letter to Conrad Schmidt on August 5, 1890, that "All history must be studied afresh..." (Engels, 1890, pp. 73-74). The Sandinista leader, Victor Tirado, justifies this methodology in his speech entitled, "Karl Marx: The International Workers' Movement's Greatest Fighter and Thinker."

> Marx demonstrated scientifically, socialism is the future of humanity because, in spite of its errors and imperfections, it is the best answer to the big problems facing humanity today. It is the best solution to the sharp conflicts that capitalism poses...
>
> ...Marxism for the Sandinistas was a complete revelation - the discovery of a new world. And the first thing we learned from it was to know ourselves, to look inside our country, into our people's revolutionary heritage - toward Sandino. Through Marxism, we came to know Sandino, our history, and our roots. This is, among other things, the great teaching we received from Marx - reading him, as Fonseca said, with Nicaraguan eyes.
>
> From Marx, we have much to learn. We never intend to apply - nor will we in the future - his doctrine as a dogma. It was he who said that this is not a sacred scripture, nor is it the key to open all doors.
>
> We value his writings as we do Lenin's, as a guide for action, as a creative instrument that must be continually recreated. We have worked in this direction and so have revolutionaries the world over. That is the first and great requirement of Marxism (Tirado, 1983, p. 105).

Tomas Borge, one of the original founders of the Sandinista leadership, reveals an example of their revolutionary praxis in his 1982 May Day speech,

---

10 Pragmatic is used here to indicate that theory is tested by its applicability to the actual world rather than against an ideal world.

> Experience has also shown that there are capitalist sectors who are ready to work with the revolution, and that broad middle strata and the majority of small and medium agricultural producers have incorporated themselves into the revolutionary process (Borge, 1982, p. 26).

The separation of politics and economics as two entirely different concepts is a necessary part of the bourgeois rule. Conceiving of the base and superstructure as separate entities with `correspondances' between them or as one determining the other succumbs to this bourgeois conception.

> The `superstructure', in brief, is simply the `ideal' form in which the totality of `material' relations which make up the `base' itself are manifested to consciousness, not a substantially separable order of reality at all (Sayer, 1987, p. 84).

In short, this perspective has been chosen given its usefulness in describing the origin of the conceptual separation between economics and politics in capitalist society and in addressing the base/superstructure metaphor in Marxist thought. This understanding will assist in assessing the transformation in Nicaraguan society.

Adult Education in a Transitional Society

Given the lack of theory[11] regarding the role of adult education in the transition process to socialism, the last chapter will focus on a description of Nicaragua's strategies for popular adult education and the political rationale for these strategies. Nicaragua has established a

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11 This study has relied solely on published English language references.

national, popular adult education program that at present complements the formal schooling program and serves as an important experiment in educational democratization and socialization.

The key issue to be highlighted is the relation between the state and the mass organizations. It will be hypothesized that the democratization of popular adult education, and subsequently of Nicaraguan society, cannot develop without the mass organizations assuming local control of the program. This would ensure that education is relevant and integrated to production and other community needs. The role of the state continues to be important in the transition phase to assist in the construction of a revolutionary ideology that will contribute to the proletarianization of Nicaraguan society.

Let us now turn to description of Nicaraguan pre-revolutionary history. This will contribute to the discussion by illustrating the conceptual separation of the economic and the political as inherent to the capitalist system. This brief historical recounting will also elucidate the constraints and possibilities within Nicaragua's present transformation.

CHAPTER II

The Historical Context of Nicaragua's Social Transition

Pre-Revolutionary History in Nicaragua

Native Nicaraguan Society.

Nicaragua, geographically located in the centre of Central America, is separated by the central Cordillera mountain range into two distinct regions: the eastern Caribbean lowlands and the historically more populated western region comprised of the central highlands and western lowlands. Historical research indicates that the area now known as eastern Nicaragua was settled by the Miskitu, Rama, and Suma tribes and that western Nicaragua was settled by successive waves of migrants originating from the area of Mexico (Stanislawski, 1983, p. 4), primarily the Chorotegans and the Nicarao. These native Indian groups were "diligent agriculturalists; or, better said, skillful gardeners" (Oviedo, bk. 7, ch. 18) and thus, the fertile lowlands produced an abundance of maize, beans, tobacco, vegetables, fruit, and cotton.

Centred around this sophisticated and self-sufficient form of cultivation was a society with differentiated tasks ranging from hunting to weaving cloth to pottery production. The early Spanish accounts indicate that (according to their frame of reference) both the Chorotegans and Nicarao had a society that was "impressively stratified, with chiefs, nobles, priests, commoners, and slaves living in towns and villages built around market places" (Stone, 1966, pp. 215,

217, 228-229). However, this stratification was based on rank and status within the community, not in relation to the land. The concept of private property (land that is bought and sold by individuals owners) was largely unknown to these peoples. Although the 'territory' held by any one social grouping was considered as belonging to them, each 'hamlet group' had communal landholding relations (Lockhart, Schwartz, 1983, p. 43). Generally, the hamlet was communally responsible for ensuring that the land was cultivated, but each family had a specific inheritable plot that was inalienable, unless the family became extinct. Thus, the land was not necessarily communally cultivated, although reciprocal work was common.

It was by virtue of community membership that the family therefore had access to land and, in this sense, the concept of holding prime arable land on an individual basis was unknown (Lockhart, Schwartz, 1983, p. 44). Land that was under the auspices of the local rulers and nobles was generally cultivated communally. Whether these lands were perceived as belonging to the larger unit or belonging to the ruler is uncertain. Nevertheless, these lands were dispersed around the locale and were worked by the stewards, dependents, and the 'commoners' as a form of tribute. Tribute was also paid in the form of products in return for reciprocal rights from the ruler, such as access to the land and subsistence needs in times of scarcity. These rights could not be breeched by the ruler.

The chiefs and elders were responsible for the roles of government and religious leadership. For the Chorotegans, the chiefs were neither born to their positions nor absolute in power (Stanislawski, 1983, p. 6). These persons were chosen by the councils comprised of elders who had been selected from a number of communities by way of vote. Women figured predominately in societal decision making and this situation was described by Spanish chroniclers as the men being "utterly subject to their wives" (Andagoya, 1945, p. 406). In contrast, the Nicarao's social organization was patriarchal and based on inherited positions of chief, noble, and priest.

In sum, kinship ties and broad territoriality appeared to have been the basis for social and production relations. The conceptualization of the separation of the forces and relations of production cannot be utilized in this discussion of the pre-conquest days in Nicaragua. The concept of cooperating to produce and to meet the needs of the community contributed to the overall production in this society beyond just the tools and raw materials. The division of labour, the scientific knowledge as well as the leadership methods, all contributed to the self-sufficient production in which the relations of person to person and person to nature were in no way mystified by the production of surplus or by alienating people's labour from their produce. Their concept of the land was not separated from their actual relations to the land and their relations to

each other, and therefore analyzing this through a base/superstructure distinction is misleading.

The stratification was based on privilege and status by mutual consent of the community and was not founded on any notion of legality that justified a divorce between people and the means of their production. Thus, in this sense, these societies can be classified as classless societies with a hierarchical organization. Hence, it was the unity of the society that formed the basis for social and production relations; in this way, then, the economic form and the leadership form were not separated.

In 1519, the Spanish conquistadores first sighted the Pacific coast of Nicaragua in their search for gold to acquire quick profit. As the small supply of gold deposits were depleted, the Spaniards began seizing the native peoples to sell them as slaves - a practice that began in 1524 and continued heavily for at least a decade (Melendez, 1983, p. 87). By 1550, most of the area of Nicaragua had been depopulated by the ravages of disease and the slave trade. Subsequently, in pursuit of large profit, not settlement, the Spanish seized much of the land for cattle grazing.

This wholesale eradication of much of the native population threatened the existence of the Spanish themselves through lack of food production. Consequently, the Spanish began to implement the encomienda system that facilitated the 'profitable' use of the remaining local

population. The Spanish Crown extended a legal right to the conquerors to collect tributes from the native peoples in return for bringing them under the care of the Spanish state. The obligation of the state was to feed them during the less active agricultural months and provide them with instruction in Christianity (Stanislawski, 1983, p. 16). This arrangement was to be supervised by Church representatives who were expected to curb abuse and consolidate the native peoples into 'towns' that would faciliate the carrying out of the above obligations. Additionally, to enable tax collection, the two provinces of León and Granada were legally established and founded the basis by which the Indians were divided to become the legal property of the various local encomenderos.

The early Spanish conquest exemplifies the transition process to late European feudalism.[12] Incorporated into the socio-economic organization violently wrought between the native population and the Spanish were the seeds of capitalism, capitalist relations of production, and their associated class and political structures. Although historical revisionism seeks to elaborate the commonalities between the Indian social and economic organization (tribute, land holding, etc.) and European feudalism, whereby the Spanish simply slid into the upper societal

12 Feudalism is a social and economic arrangement characterized by a hierarchy of positions, production for use, and obligatory labour. Production for exchange and wage labour later became common and hence anticipated capitalist production relations within a growing market economy.

positions of Indian society, this 'fusion' interpretation ignores the profound impact on the Indians' conception of the world and the ongoing struggle and violence between these two cultures (Wheelock, 1979).

The forms of land holding may appear similar on a superficial level, but it is the evolution of the conception of land from a communal right to one of a state right and later to private property that was the radical change. The land now became the property of the state, in which the concept of state was justified through the notion of law. Under these new conceptions, land was granted to Spanish individuals who were responsible for determining its productivity and allocating the labour power to be used to produce from it. This concept of property became the basis for the stratification among the Spanish -- one in which the native peoples were on the lowest rungs of the status hierarchy in terms of the privilege of ownership and hence, lowest in social prestige and wealth.

The Spanish established a tribute system that actually incorporated the generation of surplus in contrast to the Indian tribute system that had only provided for the normal subsistence needs of the native peoples. Rather than the tribute being held in trust for the community (to be utilized by the Indian leaders for their own consumption in exchange for their services to assist the community in times of need, or for religious ceremonies), this surplus was used by the Spanish for luxury consumption beyond basic

necessities (Bakewell, 1985, p. 136). Often it was sold for profit to provide the 'capital' necessary for further Spanish exploits on the continent.

The overriding reason for the Spanish conquest was the quick extraction of resources, whether this be gold or slaves for labour. Thus, Latin America was part of the colonial mercantile system through its exploitation and resulting dependency. The Spanish did little to regenerate wealth and relegated the remaining native peoples to a bare subsistence level of existence through law, force, and economics. The self-sufficient agriculture of the Indians gave way to the self-sufficient production of the hacienda where the sale of products would generate capital. This would eventually give way to monoculture production (plantation or latifundia agriculture) characteristic of Central America today.

Due to the substantial depopulation in the area of Nicaragua, the conquest did not result in an overlay of Spanish institutions over that of the Indian, as in other areas of Latin America. The Indians were able to retain few of their traditions and became completely subjugated to the Spanish encomenderos and thus their existence as an social entity was progressively and systematically eliminated.

Nonetheless, it was the labour of the native peoples that became the chief resource upon which this colony was constructed. As Cortes noted, he had not left Spain to plow the land (Sherman, 1979, p. ix). Therefore the capitalist

concept of labour originated with the excessive amount of tribute exacted in order to generate surplus. This change was undergirded by obsessive Spanish legalism (Stanislawski, 1983, p. 47) and their need for standardization and organization, facilitated by the advent of record keeping. Native mutual consent was supplanted by Spanish law. This law was the strict domain of the state and its respective authority. Herein lies the birth of the conceptual separation of the state from economic relations in Central America and the limited power of the individual 'citizen' within that state power.

Psychologically, the original native orientation in Nicaragua would change from one of group-supportive (seeking local group harmony through ascribed social differences and subordination of self to group) to a self-protective orientation necessitated by the collision with the Spanish culture where self-interests were not subordinated to the group and social differences were achieved through individual economic control over others (Colby, 1967, pp. 416-431).

It was this transition, established coercively by the Spanish conquest, that would form the basis for the future development of Nicaragua. It was these changes in the conception and concrete operation of property, labour, stratification, law, state, psychological orientation, and surplus, all of which were justified theologically, with which twentieth century revolutionary Nicaragua would be at

war.

Beyond these early years of the Spanish conquest, a brief summary is necessary to describe the key political and economic developments in pre-revolutionary Nicaragua that have continued to impose constraints on present development. The system of repartimiento labour was legally introduced into the region to replace the previous arrangement of feudal labour. The Crown required the Indians to provide seven months of labour for which they would be generally paid a wage in replacement of the tribute. The implementation was not altogether successful given the opposition of the encomenderos, but it symbolized the eventual introduction of wages that resulted in the growing dependence of the Indian on wage labour and their increasing alienation from the land.

The juridical connection to the land was consolidated through the complex development of the hacienda. The encomienda had been founded on state force, being established through law and coercion which granted the Crown the right to collect tribute, but only where land was owned by the Crown. The hacienda, in contrast, evolved through gradual land acquisition from the state by individuals. It was a private, land-owning institution incorporating an agricultural labour force that became permanent by being forced to remain on a particular estate through debt peonage (Lockhart, 1985, pp. 51-52). The production needs of the hacienda were supplemented by a migratory, nonresident

labour force during the peak periods of harvest. Their incorporation into the hacienda, at other times, was not considered necessary (Lockhart, 1983, p. 142).

The significance of hacienda development is that it formed the basis for the legal relation to the land as land ownership evolved away from Crown jurisdiction toward private ownership. By expanding their property, each hacienda would attempt to monopolize the supply of products to the cities which were their main market, next to the overseas markets. Through supplying these markets, the hacienda production became responsive to their needs and therefore became subjected to the market forces that integrally connected the urban and rural worlds. In addition the haciendas connected Nicaragua with the mercantilist, and later capitalist centres through international trade.

Another significant development to be considered here is the formal and permanent relation of individual Indians subjugated to individual Spaniards. Legal jurisdiction over labour evolved toward legal jurisdiction over property. From this point forward, the social organization was founded on these property relations. The stratification of Nicaraguan society was premised on the shrinkage of the Indian village demographically, geographically, and in societal power. The Indian population became more dependent psychologically, culturally, and economically on those of Spanish descent for their well-being. The Indians were forcefully incorporated

and appropriated into Hispanic legal, religious, and economic institutions and practices. Often they began to attain their ends through the Spanish structures, to the point where they often ceased to exist as a separate entity, economically or even genetically (Lockhart, 1983, pp. 166, 332). For instance, by the time of independence from Spain, Nicaragua was predominately Mestizo (Adams, 1967, p. 472) and the systematic elimination of Indian communal lands and legal ethnic distinctions, completed by the early 1900's, succeeded in almost destroying the Indian community despite their long tradition of armed struggle, resistance, subversion, and expropriation (Wheelock, 1979).

Of final significance, the hacendados often resided in luxurious urban living quarters and only periodically on the hacienda. This was not only the precursor of absentee land ownership but it necessitated the establishment of a stratification system within the hacienda that, apart from the dominant landowner, consisted of the dominated: the main steward (majordomo), the tribute-collectors, labour manager, stock-watchers, and the labourers. These new relations to land, now mediated by private property, generated the need for wage labour and became the new basis for societal stratification. This was partly the origins of the Nicaraguan class system (Wheelock, 1979). It is these broad opposing interests, the dominant and dominated, that created class struggles in the underside of history and is reflected by the continuous line of revolutionary development in

Nicaragua.

However, class cannot be defined just as separate economic interests apart from the totality of societal relations including the state and the law, as together they "maintain a social order in which domination can appear to take purely 'economic' forms" (Sayer, 1987, p. 110). The colonial history of Nicaragua can be characterized as the fragmenting of social relations into spheres that appear external, such as the political, economic, legal spheres, but that are particularly constitutive of bourgeoise class rule (Sayer, 1987, p. 110). As shall be evidenced through the experience of the Nicaraguan Revolution, these classes had been conditioned by the dependent manifestation of capitalism and hence, they need to be defined given this experience. For instance, Commandante Jaime Wheelock considers the class system of the dominated to include the creole functionaries, professionals, agrarian producers, artisans, and wage labourers, who together would unite against the first generation Spanish oligarchy (the dominant) in seeking independence from Spain. This unity, then, was not created solely on economic class interests but on the united desire for self-determination (Wheelock, 1978).

Independence.

As the colonial mercantile system began to break down, Latin American nationalist movements gained momentum but, for the most part, despite independence from Spain, they did

not change the fundamental nature of Latin American societal relations. While independence consolidated a notion of independent nationhood and instilled the values of liberty, freedom, and democracy, these notions were never fully operationalized in Latin American social or production relations.

This notion of nationhood was patterned after the English, American, and French Revolutions that had been founded on the principles of a liberal state and that made possible competitive, individualist, market society (Macpherson, 1965, p. 5). A responsible system of government was necessary to provide laws, taxes, and services to enable the market society to work. The government too needed to be responsive to the electorate to ensure it catered to market needs. Therefore the principle of freedom of choice was introduced into the government through the practice of elections, the existence of political parties and distinct individual liberties, such as the freedom of association and the freedom of speech and publication. As Macpherson noted,

> Instead of a society based on custom, on status, and on authoritarian allocation of work and rewards,...everyone was swept into the free market, and all his [sic] relations with others were increasingly converted to market relations. Previously, people had been, and had thought of themselves as, not individuals but members of ranks or orders or communities. Their fairly fixed place in a customary society had given them some security but little freedom. Now, people began, with delight or with fear, to think of themselves as individuals free to choose (Macpherson, 1965, p. 7).

It must be noted that at this point, that the

electorates of these new liberal states were selected on a non-democratic basis since the franchise was restricted to propertied men. It was not until the working class gained enough strength to pose a threat to the existing order that the franchise was extended to allow this sector into the political competition. It was many years later that the franchise was extended to women. Therefore, democracy was not implemented until the liberal state[13] and the capitalist market system[14] were well established (Macpherson, 1965, p. 9-10; Mittelman, 1981, p. 15).

The other important aspect of the liberal capitalist state that is relevant to our discussion is that it is a system of power relations mediated through property. Not all people have access to property or capital and therefore are compelled to enter the market to acquire property or capital, or to contract for the best return on their labour. The role of the state then is to protect these contracts, or power relations, and to be the institution that would compel the governed to undertake or not to undertake certain activities. Hence, this system would avoid the "uncivilized"

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13 The term "liberal" is most often used to portray the belief in the supreme value of individual freedom and rights, that are to be protected by and against the government; hence the belief in limited government in order to maximize freedom and minimize encroachment on individual rights, particularly property rights. In this sense, liberal ideology is considered the justification for capitalist production relations. The state is regarded as the institutionalization of these capitalist relations, of which law and government are a part.

14 The market is a system of exchange where buyers and sellers interact and where supply and demand usually determine prices.

use of private violence and relegate this authority only to the state. Theoretically, the election system would ensure that there would be controls on the government to prevent its abuse of the monopoly of power which it enjoys.

Even though these were the ideals that inspired the development of Latin American nationhood, the continent remained entrenched in a semi-feudal landholding system while simultaneously being submerged into the growing capitalist world economy, where economic modernization and industrialism were hailed as the way of the future. These two sides of Latin American reality, formal political independence and economic dependence, created a serious contradiction in societal relations.

Middle America's separation from Spain occurred in 1822 as part of the independence of the Mexican empire. Although the region was united originally into a federalist organization in 1823, it gradually separated into smaller sovereign states in 1838, one being the nation of Nicaragua.

Yet, continued political and military interventionism in the region undermined the legal and political autonomy of Central America and subverted the process of nation building. Nicaragua itself was torn between the philosophies and economic conflicts of the two dominant and rival groups: the Liberals in León (originally the lower rank Spanish soldiers who were the administrators for the empire and who were budding retail merchants, small proprietors, and artisans); and the Conservatives in Granada (originally the

aristocratic conquistadores whose wealth was garnered from the land and trade in cattle, coffee, and sugar)(Selser, 1981, p. 13). The nationalist ambitions of strong leaders from each group often lead them to solicit external assistance to buttress interregional warfare and they resisted internal unions of compromise. In fact, it is asserted that in Latin America generally, "colonial administrative divisions had created...`separate hierarchies of interest and ambition'" that resulted in the independence of separate regions, contrary to Simon Bolivar's vision of a united, independent Latin America (Collier, 1983, p. 412). Hence, the polity of Central America continued its heritage of contradictions between the dominant and dominated characterized by: (i) its charismatic and legal domination by strong individuals; (ii) its propensity to localism; (iii) its violent resistance to domination expressed by the `lower' classes; and (iv) its general poverty (Morse, 1985, p. 426; Wheelock, 1979).

As Spain's influence retreated in the mid-nineteenth century, the ensuing local instability and the potential of Nicaragua for an interocean canal stimulated American interest in the area due to the California gold rush. This brought them into conflict with Britain's colonial influence over the Caribbean coastal area. The consistent themes of foreign intervention, nationalism, and regional warfare coalesced to produce the Walker Affair where an American soldier of fortune sought to implement the imperialist

philosophy of manifest destiny of America in Nicaragua, supported by a pact with the Leónese Liberals. Militarily, Walker took control of the country in 1855 and proceeded to heighten the exploitation of Nicaraguan resources through foreign investment, notably American. Finally, despite all their differences, the Liberal and Conservative factions of Nicaraguans united together with troops from other Central and South American nations and ousted the hated intruder in the attempt to re-establish local political and economic control (Selser, 1981, p. 17).

Despite a new political autonomy, the economy remained dependent but changed form from feudal mercantilism into capitalist free trade. Gradually, these Central American economies made the transition to capitalism and the international division of labour as peripheral dependents reliant on raw export crops and the exploitation of wage labourers that would support the expanding consumer tastes of local elites and populations in the advanced industrialized nations. By the end of the nineteenth century, much of the land had reverted back into the hands of small, self-sufficient Mestizo and Indian producers; but once again, forced land takeovers gained momentum to accomodate large coffee growers who wished to confiscate additional land and employ as wage labour, the population, who were now rendered landless.

Since the Liberals had lost support during the Walker Affair, the Conservatives were successively 'elected'

between 1857 and 1893. They implemented a new constitution guaranteeing many liberal, democratic rights, but it was apparent that the activities of the political state were intent on denying the essence of these constitutional rights to the majority of the citizenry.

In 1893, however, the Conservatives were overthrown by General Zelaya, the fiercely nationalist but authoritarian Liberal Nicaraguan dictator. He continued to encourage this expansion of the export economy in the hope of modernizing the economy. Zelaya's efforts at economic modernization, continued by his dictatorial successors, who aimed to build a physical infrastructure of transportation and communication to facilitate the expansion of monoculture export products such as coffee, bananas, timber, and gold (Walker, 1981, p. 16). Another new constitution sought to legally implement aspects of the liberal state such as the separation of church and state, guarantee of individual liberties, and increase in educational opportunities, even though it often curtailed elections and individual freedoms. This clearly portrayed the contradictory relationship between the attempt to legally implement political liberal philosophy for the benefit of the privileged groups and to condone coercion in the economic sphere against oppressed groups.

Most importantly, legislation was passed that allowed the p-ivatization of national land and this led to the confiscation of land by large producers if peasants could

not produce titles for it (Deere, Marchetti, 1981, p. 43). Despite these dispossessions, labour scarcity continued and new laws sought to tie the labour to the haciendas by granting access to land in exchange for labour during the harvest and to fine workers who did not participate in the harvests (Wheelock, 1979, pp. 26-29). This was the first phase of agro-export development that integrated the Nicaraguan economy into the international capitalist economy.

Coffee production stimulated the growth of a new agrarian bourgeoisie that sought to modernize the production forces through increased investment in infrastructure and in the accumulation of land. But although sectors of the oligarchy joined this movement, the tensions within the ruling class were exacerbated and formed much of the foundation for the power struggles between the traditionalist Conservatives and reformist Liberals.

Although Zelaya succeeded in gaining full sovereignty for Nicaragua, by acquiring the east coast from Britain, Zelaya's championship of Nicaraguan nationalism and Central American unity, his refusal to negotiate a loan with New York financiers, and his denial of American canal-building rights, provoked American intervention in the country. The Americans considered Central America as their legitimate colonial protectcrate since the Spanish-American war (Walker, 1986, p. 17) and overthrew his government in 1909 to reinstall the Conservatives to power. This American

intervention was responsible for undermining the "normal" stages of capitalist development in Nicaragua and promoting low levels of economic growth (Wheelock, 1979).

Direct American military intervention and occupation at intermittent periods from the turn of the century up to the 1940's assisted in keeping the Conservative and Liberal governments in power alternatively in return for assurances of access to Nicaragua for the canal project and the promise that democracy be brought to Nicaragua. Successive invasions by the marines sought to crush any nationalist movements in order to protect U.S. investments, U.S. bankers, and the American sphere of influence.

The first reinstated election, supervised by the United States, occurred in 1928 and despite a Liberal winner, the Americans were satisfied that their control of the railway, banks, customs, and National Guard (whose role it was to provide stability for political and economic development) were sufficient to ensure their dominance. The command of the Guardia Nacional was given over to the Nicaraguan, Anastasio Somoza Garcia, and led to a period of external military and political intervention. The melding of dynastic, dictatorial family rule through a politicized military force from 1937-1979 and the privatization of capital accumulation within this clan was to be pivotal in sparking the renewal of a revolutionary anti-imperialist moverent during the 1930's.

The Legacy of Sandino.

Experiencing the great disparity between himself (an illegitimate son of a wealthy landowner and an Indian woman labourer), and his half-brothers, as well as encountering the anti-imperialist, socialist labour movement in Mexico on his forced travels, Sandino returned to Nicaragua to join the Liberal insurgents against the occupation by the U.S. marines. He armed his own small fighting force in protest against the eventual agreement that he considered a sell-out of the Liberals to the Americans. His effective guerrilla warfare and support base among the peasants forced the withdrawal of the marines in 1932. With this primary goal accomplished, Sandino signed a pact with the Nicaraguan government but was treacherously assassinated by the chief of the American-established and trained National Guard, Anastasio Somozo Garcia.

It is difficult to determine the exact nature of Sandino's motivation, particularly whether he considered the struggle to be anti-capitalist as well as anti-imperialist. While in Mexico, Sandino was exposed to anarchist, socialist, communist, and Mexican Spiritualist ideals, but the clandestine nature of the struggle poses several obstacles to interpreting Sandino's written thoughts. This had led to the charge, by contemporary and current critics, that his `eclecticism' was actually an incoherent ideology with inconsistent theories and programs. Neverthless, it is clear that he was committed to a death struggle against imperialism. From Sandino's biography and his own extensive

writings one gets and idea of his views,

> I felt wounded to the core when they called me `sell-out, shameless, traitor'...About the year 1925 I was ready to believe that everything in Nicaragua had become a disgrace and that honour had completely disappeared among the people...One day I told my friends that if in Nicaragua there were one hundred men who loved it as much as I did, our nation would recover its absolute sovereignty, endangered by the Yankee empire (Roman, 1986, pp. 8-9; Sandino, 1986, pp. 8-9).

This expression of nationalism was one of the single most important factors that indelibly marked Sandino's fighters as well as the second generation of Sandinistas. The oath of the guerrillas became, `Patria libre o morir' or `Free Homeland or Death' and symbolized the predominant motivation, "the simple decision to throw the North Americans out of Nicaragua" (Selser, 1981, p. 90). Anyone who had similar views was welcomed into Sandino's army.

Even though a concrete vision of the form of a new society would not be completely articulated until later by other Sandinistas, the end of intervention was seen as the immediate objective necessary to solve internal problems. Sandino's initiative provided the germ for revolutionary myths and a morale that sustained the long term struggle despite overwhelming odds.

> In Sandino, the people's of Our America saw old debts being collected from the original conquist-adores and from the modern ones. They felt that their language, their race, and their unjust fate were taking revenge on those who had enslaved them on their own earth. They saw the road reopening which, once followed to the end, would vindicate, ennoble, and liberate them...because he showed that our people possess within themselves what it takes for liberation (Selser, 1981, p. 201).

Anastasio Somoza and his oldest son craftily utilized puppet leaders to soften their control image, designed pacts with the opposition for rigged elections, and manipulated the Americans by pushing liberalization rhetoric. They benefitted from Alliance for Progress programs which included public housing, education, social security, and agrarian reform. But such developmentalist programs, financed by American aid dollars, simply provided more opportunities and wealth for the privileged oligarchy and their control over these programs prevented any real social reform or economic development.

The last Somoza leader was the youngest brother, Anastasio Somoza Debayle, who ruled by blatant military power. The technocrats of his brother's regime were replaced by corrupt allies and inefficient administrators so that his legitimacy and civilian power base, even among the local elite, began to erode (Walker, 1986, p. 30). The concentration of wealth intensified so that the Somozas became the largest landowner with 20 per cent of the arable land. As well, 25 per cent of the industry and 1.5 billion dollars became part of Somoza's personal fortune.

During the Somoza dynasty, the entrenchment of peripheral capitalism and the strengthening of international market links contributed to the unique character of Nicaragua's economic and social structure. The expansion of coffee production peaked between 1920 and 1940 and resulted in the substantial growth, in economic importance of the

agrarian bourgeoisie, relative to the landed oligarchy (Vilas, 1986, p. 49). Cotton production was also introduced and its ouput surged between the 1940's and 1960's, as did beef exports and rice production in the 1970's. Another wave of forced displacement pushed tenant farmers, peasants, and indigenous communities on to marginal lands in far-flung regions of the country or off the land altogether and into the cities. Cotton production required evicting sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and small producers completely from suitable land and contributed to the erosion of the previous integration between coffee production and the servile noncapitalist relations of production within these haciendas (Deere, Marchetti, 1981, pp. 43-44). Thus, this second phase of agro-export development, namely cotton, produced a substantial increase in the seasonal, landless proletariat that worked in the rural areas during harvest and then migrated to the urban centers to supplement their incomes through labour in industry (by 1975, 9.6 per cent of the economically active population [EAP]) or labour in the informal, nonproductive or service sectors (70 per cent of the EAP in 1975) (Vilas, 1986, pp. 54-55). The third phase of beef production during the 1960's and 1970's also contributed to forcing the peasantry further on to uncleared lands which was later confiscated for pasture land.

The cost of these three phases of capitalist agro-export development (coffee, cotton, and beef) was the dire shortage of subsistence foodstuffs necessitating expensive

imports, debts to foreign financial institutions, increased poverty, low technological development, and the high displacement of rural dwellers to urban slums. In 1979, 60 percent of the rural dwellers did not own or could not rent enough land to feed themselves (Collins, 1982, p. 10). Severe malnutrition affected 60 per cent of the Nicaraguan children, infant mortality ranged from 12 per cent to 55 per cent, and illiteracy was 50.3 per cent.

The role of the Somoza state in this economic system was to orient the development of infrastructure such as roads, power, credit, and labour and tax legislation towards the large urban and rural bourgeoisie. The half-hearted reformist programs served to enhance the need for repression in the face of increasing land invasions, strikes, and labour organizing. During the 1970's, the blatant engorgement of the Somocistas generated a crisis at all levels of society.

As the historical economic and social conditions for revolution deepened, so too did the strategic and theoretical thought of the next generation of Sandinistas. Carlos Fonseca[15], the primary Sandinista theorist and

15 Prior to the 1960's, Carlos Fonseca Amador was linked with the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN) through his establishment of the first university cell for Marxist studies. He became unsatisfied with the Latin American communist parties that espoused a peaceful transition to socialism despite the existence of dictatorial rule and the Nicaraguan predisposition for armed struggle among the ruling classes for control of the government (Fonseca, 1969, pp. 29, 31). Fonseca was primarily responsible for devising the ideological foundations and revolutionary strategy of the FSLN (Weber, 1981, pp. 20-21). He was killed by the National Guard in

refiner of Sandino's thought, synthesized the legacy of Sandino with his own experiences of the 'new' Marxism emanating out of third world experiences, particularly that of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. It was the leadership of Fonseca that particularly imbued the struggle with anti-capitalist as well as anti-imperialist goals and expanded the nationalist orientation to one of international solidarity. Fonseca wrote, "Socialist and national demands are combined in the Sandinist People's Revolution. We identify with socialism while retaining a critical attitude to the socialist experience" (Fonseca, 1980, p. 21).

Like Sandino, Fonseca felt that the Nicaraguan Socialist Party was ineffectual and in 1961 he established an independent revolutionary movement, the Sandinista Front of National Liberation (FSLN), with Tomas Borge and Silvio Mayorga. From Sandino's and the Cuban experience, Fonseca realized the key necessity of linking native roots to a popular, national ideology and strategy. Therefore, Fonseca was the main contributor to the forging of historical links between Sandino and the FSLN. He portrayed the FSLN as the continuation of that original struggle; so much so, that FSLN members took the initiative to make contact with those living comrades of Sandino to learn guerilla strategy and to physically relate to these historical roots of the struggle. Omar Cabezas writes of his meeting with Don Leandro,

> I began to feel that they were the fathers of the homeland and never did I feel more a son of

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November, 1976.

> Sandinismo, a son of Nicaragua, than at that moment....I felt a concrete continuation uninterrupted....I had not seen my umbilical cord until then. I embraced Don Leandro, feeling that I was on the earth, not in the air; I was not just a child of an elaborated theory, but was treading on the concrete, with roots in the soil, in history (Cabezas, 1985, p. 221).

Thus, the tradition of internal and external exploitation and imperialism was revealed to successive generations by living thought and actions. There was no dichotomy between history, the present, and the future as these Nicaraguans considered themselves linked by Sandinismo.

Carlos Fonseca retrieved two of the most important aspects of Sandino's thought that would serve as the basis for the elaboration of Sandinista theory. Tomas Borge identifies these aspects in the following quotation,

> Only the workers and peasants are capable of struggling to the end against imperialism and its local political representatives. With this notion, Sandino's intuition grasped above all the class character of the revolutionary movement, the class struggle as the motor of history. Besides pointing to the workers and peasants as the fundamental subjects of this struggle, Sandino also grasped the form the popular revolutionary movement in Nicaragua had to take. In the economic, social, and political conditions of Nicaragua, the armed struggle was the only road that could lead to the revolutionary transformation of society (Borge, 1983a, p. 110).

From the theory and strategy of Fonseca, the Sandinistas realized that a pre-established strategy that was intransigent in the face of failure would not contribute to the success of the revolutionary thrust. This unity of science and action needed to be continually worked at.

> ...unity between theory and practice is not something that is established once and for all at the outset. Rather, it is something that must be achieved in the course of the struggle itself. The vanguard itself needed to grasp this principle at that first moment, in that initial armed experience (Borge, 1983a, p. 111).

Beyond contributing to the historical intellectual and ideological tradition, Sandino, Fonseca, and later, Humberto Ortega were the main military strategists. They adopted Sandino's strategy of guerrilla warfare that consisted of quick strikes under the cover of treacherous countryside to harrass and disorient the enemy. Survival in the countryside required the support and aid of the peasant population. Various social reforms (wage, educational, etc.) and land reforms were effected in the 'liberated' areas to demonstrate the commitment and honesty of the revolutionaries. These actions in social reform, the growing peasant involvement in warfare, and the regularly-held political discussions were essential to peasant and worker understanding of their oppression and their vision for the future. Sandino's practice of changing the economic hand-in-hand with the political and social became FSLN practice.

Fonseca's idealized and orthodox notions of military strategy evolved as he participated in actual warfare. Originally adopting Guevara's foco strategy, he adapted it in order to generate popular support in urban as well as rural areas. Similarly, after a significant military defeat by the National Guard, the FSLN abandoned warfare for some time in order to concentrate on political education and

material organizing. Subsequently, three factions developed that highlight the divergence of Sandinista opinion regarding revolutionary strategy. This divergence reflected the different contexts in which each faction was working. The Prolonged Popular War (GPP) faction emphasized the Sandino heritage of preparing a viable peasant network and maintaining rural guerrilla warfare. The Proletarian Tendency (TP) focussed on the Marxist theory of organizing the urban proletariat that was theoretically located in the center of production. The third was the Teceristas or Insurrectional Tendency (TI) that attempted to integrate both the guerrilla and mass struggle efforts into insurrectionalism, that called all societal sectors to armed struggle.[16]

In the mid 1970's, Humberto Ortega reviewed the history of the Nicaraguan revolutionary movement and felt that the conditions for fullscale civil war were advancing rapidly. Due to various situations perpetrated by Somoza (particularly his corruption after the earthquake of 1972), and the acceleration of revolutionary conditions by the FSLN, Nicaraguan society became increasingly polarized away from Somoza.

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16 The notion of mass, as synonymous with `the people', generally refers to those who are governed as opposed to those who govern. The term is used to denote a undifferentiated and nonindividualized collective of people. Mass struggle then refers to the people exerting their collective will to seize control (not just influence) over the government. Insurrection implies the existence of a vanguard to lead the people in this effort.

The Sandinista's flexibility in learning from their experiences also enabled their factions to unify. Borge writes,

> The unity of the Sandinistas was the result of a historic necessity, but was also the consequence of the political maturity of the leaders of this revolution.... It is not a question of artificial unity, forged at the price of cover-ups or falsifications, but rather unity around a clear program and an outstanding banner. It is not a question of some makeshift unity, dogmatically imposed, but rather of a living unity that reflects the contradictions of life and is nourished by them (Borge, 1984, p. 329).

Thus, the unification of all the factions reinforced the gathering momentum. They began to publicly espouse their identity as a democratic, popular, revolutionary government that would initiate a societal transformation. This strengthened the legitimacy of the FSLN as the formal opposition to Somoza. As the spontaneous response of the people developed into revolutionary action, the ensuing practical, material needs of the struggle forced successive and diversified changes in FSLN strategy until the final defeat in July of 1979.

Historical Factors Constraining Development

The recounting of the pre-conquest and early conquest history was utilized to illustrate the unity between the societal relations of the base and superstructure and more specifically, of economy and politics. The conceptual separations of these relations accompanied the transition of the native and feudal societies to the capitalist society. The separation of people from the land through the

development of obligatory and wage labour subjected them to the control of the state and the land owner. The development of export production subordinated the autonomy of the territory to the mercantile exchange system and later, the global market and it consolidated Nicaraguan participation in the global division of labour. The identification of these forces will assist in highlighting the major factors that constrain the development of twentieth century Nicaragua.

Nicaragua became a nation that was legally independent yet politically tied to the American aspirations of bringing liberal democracy to Nicaragua. Constitutional changes had been formally legislated in the legal realm but were not necessarily implemented. This was similar to the previous development of the liberal state in Europe and North America, where a democratic franchise would not be extended until the market system and liberal guarantees for the privileged were firmly established. This instability and an ideological obscurantism from the colonial days (Fonseca, 1969, p. 29), justified the repressive and authoritarian dismantling of threatening social movements and the suspension of political democratic freedoms until the projected rapid movement through the first 'emergency' phases of modernization[17] had been achieved (Cardoso, 1973,

17 The theory of modernization suggests that development proceeds through various linear stages and that the western world could assist less developed areas to achieve industrialized development through financial and technical assistance.

p. 159).

The subordination of Latin America to the fluctuations of the global market system significantly conditioned societal developments and further undermined the attempts to forge a liberal and democratic state (O'Donnell, 1978, pp. 19-32). The experience of colonialism and imperialism was the orienting of an economic system tied to the needs of an external system under which the development of private property relations created large sectors of wage labourers (including tenant farmers and sharecroppers) and small independent peasant producers, both dependent on the global market and financial system. The result was the coexistence of capitalism with simple mercantile forms in which the capitalist forms were dominant (Vilas, 1986, p. 14).

The primary structural limitation of this dependent development[18] is the inability of capitalist accumulation to complete its 'natural' cycle. Nora Hamilton refers to this limitation whereby the dependence on foreign capital and technology prevents indigenous industrial development, characteristic of Nicaragua (Hamilton, 1981, p. 317). The lack of a developed capital goods sector precludes the development of the consumer goods sector, and thus, the large capitalist presence was most dominant in circulation

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18 Although there are many approaches to dependency theory (see Chilcote, 1981), it generally refers to the analysis of the interrelationship between international and local economies, where the penetration of a dominant economy into Third World economies creates a dependency relationship and negatively affects national economic development.

and consumption, not in production (Nuñez, 1981, p. 5). This stunted growth process necessitates military intervention to negotiate internal dissent. The result, then, is a structural spiral of violence and contempt for individual human rights that seeks to act in the interests of imperial capital (Vilas, 1986, p. 14).

The development of new forms of peasantry, artisans, and small cottage producers cannot be considered `underdeveloped' or `traditional' relations of production, but were created specifically by the system of monopoly capital owners (Vilas, 1986, p. 14). The role allocated to peripheral countries within the international division of labour was the role of primary commodity producers. This restricted the opening for wage labour in a small industrial production sector and hence created the space for artisans, small cottage producers, the informal market, and the service sector to operate.

The dominant class was ineffectual in creating the conditions for industrial development given their foreign capital dependence. The surplus created by this economic system was either used for personal consumption by the bourgeoisie and the oligarchy or as capital to extend land holding. It limited its use of capital for an industrial infrastructure that would supply local needs (Borge, 1983a, p. 107).

Therefore, a nation that was responsive to global capital owners seeking to protect their capital and a nation

that espouses a liberal democratic ideology that poses a different perception of local reality than that which actually exists, resulted in a nation whose classes are generally misdeveloped.[19] Even the local dominant class itself was alienated through their cooptation by the international market that diverted their attention to struggles regarding issues on tariffs, taxes, bank financing, and exchange rates (Vilas, 1986, p. 25). The cohesion of the bourgeoisie class was further retarded through the use of coercion, repression, and corruption by the Somoza oligarchic elite who sought to fragment their collective interests. Somoza's personal accumulation of wealth and its attendant corruption was an insult to both the popular masses and the bourgeoisie. The political force of the FSLN was to serve to direct and articulate their anger.

The economic class system in Nicaragua developed directly in relation to financial capital owners, not to property owners, and produced: a dominant elite (the Somozas and the large bourgeoisie) that were dependent themselves on the favour of international capital but who still mediated national development; and several groupings within a single dominated class consisting of - a feeble middle and small bourgeoise (ideologically submerged to liberal democratic expectations and whose development also was undermined by

19 "misdeveloped" is used here in contrast to "underdeveloped" to indicate that the type of class formation was a direct result of dependent development not a stagnation in growth.

international capital); a migrant, often landed, uncohesive, and underemployed proletariat/semiproletariat; an unorganized and impoverished peasantry; and a significant sector of unemployed. It was this `third social force' of unemployed (and those involved in the informal sector) who were not formally participating in the economy but who were marginalized from the center of production -- students, women, youth, and unemployed -- who became pivotal in the revolutionary action (Nuñez, 1981, p. 7). This confluence of interests was the direct result of an educative process that had its roots in the failure of the schooling system in pre-revolutionary Nicaragua.

Education for Domination[20]

Colonial Education in Latin America.

The violent thrust of the colonial conquest was accompanied by a fervent evangelization that desired to impose the establishment of a `Christian' kingdom in Latin America. Basic schooling and evangelization were considered the key elements in `civilizing' the Indians to turn them from nomadic and self-sufficient ways to encomienda labour and European-emulated village organization. This education system sought to effectively incorporate colonized and `civilized' populations into an immutable system of mercantile economic exploitation.

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20 Education for domination refers to the use of education to reinforce the rule of elite classes and enhance the perpetuation of their accumulation of privilege through a false consciousness that regards oppression as a natural order.

This form of education for the indigenous population was one face of a dual education system developed along class lines. A formal, elite education was provided for the Spanish aristocracy through the establishment of universities early in the conquest, by the Dominicans and Jesuits, to perpetuate colonial cultural values and professional skills in theology, law, and medicine. The values and myths that this education perpetuated determined the Latin American perception of reality that justified exploitation as the natural order of things. "This view of the world, of life, satisfied the fatalistic and frightened consciousness of the oppressed at a certain moment of their historical experience" (Freire, 1984, p. 536).

Education for Modernization.

This contrasts with the influence of the Protestant ethic that accompanied Latin American independence in the mid-nineteenth century and prepared the groundwork for modernization ideology and its impact on the Church, economy, and politics. With the advent of capitalist forms of production, education was hailed as the key to enlightenment whereby students would undergo pre-determined units of schooling and standardized curricula to acquire the skills necessary for industrialization, to improve morally the lower classes, and to contribute to national progress.

By the early twentieth century, schooling was considered by the industrialized nations as the prerequisite to national economic growth through the participation of

`modernized' individuals and nations in the global capitalist division of labour. Schooling was to provide the credentials leading to higher incomes and status, moral improvement, and social mobility. In a broad sense, "nations have come to believe that to be accepted as civilized, they must be educated; and to be educated, they must be schooled" (Carnoy, 1974, p. 2).

By the mid-twentieth century, it was expected that schooling would overcome socio-economic inequalities as both globally and within nations and provide increased prosperity for all. Education for the whole population was also required to ensure informed political participation and to promote the values of individualism, moralism, industry, and honesty that were necessary for modernization. It was expected that,

> When a poor peasant or a worker in the new industrial areas becomes a Protestant, he stops drinking, starts working regularly, establishes a stable family, learns to read and write, and consequently gains social and economic status (Bonino, 1975, p. 12).

Rather than the previous authoritarian pedagogy aimed at social control to condition the masses to voluntarily and obediently accept their exploited position on the lowest rungs of the social hierarchy, this `modern' educational philosophy was to serve an egalitarian function to ameliorate poverty and social inequality and to reduce the dehumanization of schooling and society. Schooling would be the `great equalizer' by providing equal opportunity for self-development and social integration. This process

together with substantial foreign capital would propel the third world nations towards a `take-off' into industrial and modernized national development.

Modernization Education in Latin America.

However, in Latin America, the lack of mass demand for schooling, inappropriate allocation of national resources, and the opposition of elites discouraged an effective expansion of formal educational opportunities. A schooling philosophy that promised freedom, democracy, and a share in the `good life' of capitalist society was feared by oligarchic elites. It contained the potential for social conflict if the benefits of modern society were not extended to the masses. Thus, schooling expanded but it continued to be primarily utilized by the upper classes as preparation for various professions. Primary education, when offered to the lower classes, was specifically designed to provide the technical skills necessary to contribute to growth in national production and to maintain social order.

> Theoretically, giving poor people schooling led to jobs, income, and social stability at the same time. Of course, a schooled labour force and higher incomes in the South would increase both the markets for Northern industrial goods and investment opportunities (Carnoy, 1974, p. 312).

Rather than `freeing' all Latin Americans to actively participate in the democratic liberal system, modernization education served the powerful elites by further entrenching their ascendance and alienating the poor from the decision making process. On one hand, the poor continued to regard education as the legitimate allocator of social roles and

looked to any structured educational opportunity as the method by which to escape their poverty. The education system, on the other hand, attributed the root of their poverty to their environmental deprivation and their lack of academic ability. This further oppressed their consciousness and provided justification for restricting access to schooling.

> Poverty and inequality, in this view, are the consequences of individual choice or personal inadequacies, not the normal outgrowths of our economic institutions. The problem, clearly, is to fix up the people, not to change the economic structures which regulate their lives. This, indeed, is the meaning of the `social power' of schools to promote equality (Bowles, Gintis, 1976, p. 26).

The tacit assumption of the modernization theory is that social change is a cumulative process continually evolving towards a higher state of progress. Industrialization, one of the higher stages of civilization, was to be attained by imitating the American model. Manipulating the specific parts of society was necessary to encourage `take-off', much like a jumpstart for an mechanical engine. This linear thinking, patterned upon evolutionary theory, perceived the `underdeveloped' countries as `backward', traditional, and on a lower level of development while the developed nations were perceived as enlightened, democratic, industrial, pluralistic, more educated, and at a higher level of development. Even the term `development' implied the assumption of change toward something; in this case, toward the Western model of society

that was defined as the epitome of progress.

Education, on this evolutionary premise, needed to rely on the scientific method to specialize and adapt to various societies at specific levels of 'development'. Paulston cites Durkheim,

> ...one can certainly establish the generic types of education which correspond to the different types of societies...we would...seek out the conditions on which the characteristic traits of each of them depended, and how they have emerged from one another. One would thus obtain the laws which govern the evolution of systems of education (Paulston, 1976, p. 8).

Thus, education for less developed nations would be characterized as traditional, authoritarian, and focussed on memorization, whereas education in more developed nations would be characterized as open, democratic, innovative, and focussed on problem solving.

Schools, the primary institutional vehicle for education, are regarded by modernization thinkers as conservative institutions that establish and train the masses in an uniform national ideology requisite for societal progress. The educational process is controlled and manipulated so that it is congruent with perceived societal needs and the assumptions about the ideal person required for that society.

Nicaraguan Education Since 1950.

In Nicaragua, efforts at economic modernization and substantial foreign aid during the 1950's and 1960's spurred a temporary growth in the economy. This triggered a rapid expansion of schooling during which the illiteracy rate

decreased from 63 per cent in 1950 to 48 per cent in 1971, although in absolute terms the number of illiterates increased (Arnove, 1986, p. 2). Yet, this optimistic statistical picture does not expose the autocratic policies of Somoza which was required to carry out this imported practice of schooling for modernization. The curriculum, textbooks, and teacher training that were devised by American education consultants were often reviewed by Somoza personally.

The unbounded optimism generated by the modernization model soon gave way to the global economic crisis and the cynicism of the 1970's, as the fallaciousness of the assumptions of modernization were exposed through the increasing gap between the global rich and poor. The achievement of democracy through elections, a free press, and education were a hoax on the masses who had only limited opportunity to participate in the modern economic sector or in political choice. These freedoms were shared only for the bourgeoisie who had been coopted by international economic forces.

The economic downturn in Nicaragua in the 1970's resulted in the decline of school expansion and per capita expenditures on education. Despite the 1974 constitution which guaranteed free and compulsory primary education, illiteracy rates and dropout rates rose (Arnove, 1986, p. 3). Gross inequities existed, such as the 76 per cent illiteracy rate for rural areas when the illiteracy rate for

the general population over 10 years of age was 50.35 per cent (Carnoy, Torres, manuscript, p. 2). Primary education was available to only 65 per cent of primary school age children. Only six per cent of rural primary students entering school completed Grade Six compared to 34 per cent in the urban areas. Rural schools typically offered only one or two grades, one teacher with inadequate training, and they desperately lacked materials and financial support (Arnove, 1986, p. 3). The dropout rate was exceedingly high partly due to inappropriate content and methods. Pedagogy was limited to the traditional lecture-memorization-examination routine, even at the first-grade level (Kraft, 1983, p. 91). Grading systems rewarded those students from parents who enjoyed higher income, and a higher level of schooling, and those with the cultural and verbal skills of the higher classes. The children of the rural and urban poor could not succeed as well at school even when educational opportunities became available to them. Irreversible brain damage due to malnutrition, disease, and impoverished environments put them on the losing end of a supposedly meritocratic system.

Little of the national budget or foreign aid designated for education was ever directed toward educational programs. Almost 70 per cent of the secondary schools were privately operated and charged substantial tuition fees. The picture was somewhat similar in regard to preschool, adult, or special education programs. The facilities for science

teaching, libraries, and physical education, even in the secondary private schools, were generally very poor (Arnove, 1986, p. 4). As in the case of the primary programs, education at other levels was based on memorization and verbal skills. In total, only 15 per cent of the appropriate age group attended these secondary schools.

By way of contrast, higher education at the university level provided extensive opportunities at public expense. Inconsistent with the modernization development process, university enrolments were concentrated on the humanities and social sciences, rather than in the technical fields related to production. The teachers themselves were often uncertified or were chosen for teaching positions through Somoza patronage. Many teachers only worked part time while supplementing their incomes with other employment. Thus, in reality, the pre-revolutionary education system was molded to serve the interests of Somoza and the ruling elite by excluding the majority of the masses from literacy and basic education. This system was a tool to train a small elite to run the family enterprises and state bureaucracies (Kraft, 1983, p. 85).

One final aspect of pre-revolutionary Nicaraguan schooling was the pervasive American influence on curriculum planning, textbooks, teacher training, and general pedagogical advice provided through foreign aid. "Despite their high quality, [the materials] were heavily biased in content and images toward foreign notions of what was

appropriate for Nicaraguan children to learn" irrespective of the historical situation in Nicaragua (Arnove, 1986, p. 6). The ironic aspect is that many of these materials never reached the intended destination due to bureaucratic corruption and incompetence (Kraft, 1983, p. 91).

Factors Constraining Education for Development

This schooling, or the lack of it, oriented the masses to accept a position of perpetual domination and dependency that implied a de-politicization of consciousness and a renunciation of the freedom to think critically. It was the blind acceptance of existing power relations in society (Karabel, 1977, p. 431). Schooling effectively 'colonized' a large section of the population to be obedient to a system that oppressed them. Paulo Freire defines this as the 'culture of silence'.

Martin Carnoy elaborates this notion, that "the colonial element in schooling is its attempt to silence, to rationalize the irrational, and to gain acceptance for structures which are oppressive" (Carnoy, 1974, p. 19). Schools were used by economic and social groups who act in their own self-interest to the abject neglect of the majority. "The social processes which allow those with power to appropriate education resources for themselves leave the poor not only poor but unable to perceive the structures which cause their poverty" (Bonino, 1975, p. 22). As Carnoy noted:

> Western formal education came to most countries as part of imperialistic domination. It was

> consistent with the goals of imperialism: the economic and political control of the people of one country by the dominant class in another...schooling was organized to develop and maintain...an inherently inequitable and unjust organization of production and political power (Carnoy, 1974, p. 3).

The domination of the poor left them in fear to speak or even question the nature of the social order in which they existed.

Even though private institutions historically took responsibility for educational offerings, the theory that the state had primary responsibility for education evolved with the philosophy of the liberal state as a disparate entity from economic life. The citizen as an individual was a political conception that necessitated certain prerequisite skills and ideological preparation for participation and it became the state's legal and moral obligation to carry out this function. The notion of democracy also relegated the provision of the individual rights of freedom and equality to the state and hence was only a political phenomenon separate from the life of production. On one hand, then, liberal governments were charged with the enforcement of a certain kind of society and certain set of relations between individuals (Macpherson, 1965, p. 5). These relations, of course, in a capitalist society are mediated indirectly or directly through people's right to property. On the other hand, the democratic system was considered as 'government by the common people' that transcended partisan interests to

morally rule for the best interests of the nation as a whole. Herein lies a profound contradiction that plagues the Western liberal democratic states and a fundamental contradiction in the provision of educational services.

To allow a market system to work, the liberal state itself was put into a market situation of supplying certain political goods, such as law, order, defense, favourable tax structures, education, and so forth. These services were to assist the market to operate efficiently and profitably. To ensure control over the state functionaries making these decisions required a competitive system as well (Macpherson, 1965, p. 8). However, as the franchise was extended to a broader sector, the force of their voice created a welfare or regulatory state to offset the excesses of the market system and to control the masses by offering small gains that would ensure the stability of the state. In this way, schooling not only provided the ideological conditioning necessary for political participation, but it also provided the certification process for skills in response to the market requirements.

Education then, is integral to both the political and economic spheres and schooling is just one shape that the social relations in production have taken. Thus, contradictions, class struggles, and mediations are manifested in education as simply different aspects of the same relations. Schooling is one form of the productive forces that prepares units of labour for skilled

participation in the market rather than simply a form of reproduction. The essence of schooling is that it is integrally involved in the market already not just in developing future potential. Education is institutionalized to restrict entry to the labour market unless skills, appropriate to the manner of production, have been acquired. These skills include a disposition amenable to social control and domination and is another dimension of the production relations that block access to the means of production.

Education only appears to be separate from production as an extension of the state role in the market system. This, then, enables the schooling system to provide an illusion of choice and self determination within the division of labour and this itself enhances the productivity of labour. These aspects of knowledge creation, skill production, and ideological conditioning as applied to production, are powerful productive forces.

Given the dependent capitalist development in Nicaragua, essential to the growth of the global market, a profound crisis was created that required vigorous initiatives to project an appearance of normality. The state as a force of social control was not developed enough to make its function effective. As access to wage labour and political participation was limited, schooling was irrelevant to providing the knowledge, skills, and ideology necessary in a modern sector. Therefore, direct domination

through production was utilized.

The incorporation of democratic freedoms into a constitution and Somocista developmentalist rhetoric only sought to maintain the flow of educational aid dollars into the country to bloat the pockets of the elite. Utilizing a minimum of the American aid monies on educational programs was an attempt to hide the excesses of the leadership and its brutal exploitation. Providing minimal educational offerings also sought to divert the historical resistance of the masses into aspiring toward education and augmenting their competitiveness in the labour market.

The overriding fear of the Somoza state was that education could fuel resistance. Literacy could open up the world to the oppressed and allow them the skills to name their oppressors and the loss of fear to remove them. As Gordon noted:

> It's crucial for a dehumanizing ideology to avoid at all costs, any opportunity for men and women to perceive themselves as reflective, active beings, as creators and transformers of the world....since they [dominant classes] are unable to eliminate human capacity to think, they obscure the real world by a conditioned and specious reasoning about people and the world in general...the mythical element...does not acutally forbid people to think; rather it makes the critical application of their thinking difficult by affording people the illusion that they think correctly (Gordon, 1986).

Thus, educational funding was funnelled primarily into private, elite schools that served to placate the upper bourgeoisie whose support of the system was necessary for continued production and whose allegiance would be garnered

through this patronage. The aristocratic progeny were sent overseas for higher education that would teach them to rule (Black, Bevan, 1980, p. 21). The state's need was for direct control and domination and could not take the risk of educating a mass population that was not fully integrated into the modern economy but who were, by and large, marginalized from full-time labour opportunities in the productive sector. Formal education simply did not serve any useful productive function for the general population given these circumstances and therefore was an extraneous concern.

In summary, pre-revolutionary education can be characterized as elitist,being provided mainly for the privileged groups and inefficient in that educational programs were sporadically offered and located only in certain areas of the country. Education, even for the elite was concentrated on traditional subjects not related to the needs of a modern economy, and was most offered largely through private agencies, primarily Church organizations.

To bear out Somoza's fears of education as a channel of liberation, it was the children of the bourgeoisie, often locally educated, that began to question the fundamentals of the system of oppression. The universities and high schools became fertile ground for FSLN recruiting and mobilization and subsequently were the target of wanton repression. Eventually, this education for resistance contributed to a successful revolutionary movement.

Education for Resistance

In Nicaragua, as elsewhere in Latin American, the limitations of formal education were complemented, supplemented, or substituted with nonformal education programs. In an attempt to bypass the ineffectual state system, nonformal education was often offered through private means and sought to provide opportunities primarily for adults to increase their power and status through literacy and skill training (LaBelle, 1986). As Carlos Torres has noted, state-administered adult education has little utility for a Latin American monopoly capitalist system, as it has negligible value for legitimizing the system and for capital accumulation. Alternatively, the repression of the mass sector contributes to a socially fragmented and politically disorganized populace whose weak political voice prevents an effective demand for programming (Torres, C.A., 1984). Therefore, adult education has been primarily carried out through non-formal or non-state related programs. The significance of private organizational involvement in adult education is the openness to the influence of Paulo Freire's thought.

Consciousness raising or `conscientization' became recognized as a pedagogy for the oppressed through Freire's literacy work in Brazil in the 1960's. Freire maintained that education, to be an exercise in freedom, had to be an act of knowing, a critical approach to reality (Cox, 1986, p. 37). Humans have the ability to stand apart from the world to objectivize reality. They can then act on the

reality, as in the concept of praxis: a person's action-reflection on world reality. The more a person conscientizes herself or himself, the more she or he unveils reality. Thus, people can take on the role of being a subject, in their own reality, to make and remake the world. "Conscientization implies then, that when I realize that I am oppressed, I also know I can liberate myself if I transform the concrete situation where I find myself oppressed" (Freire, 1975, p. 3). Conscientization necessitates a historical commitment; a person must actively enter into history, namely for structural transformation, or conscientization has not occurred.

To act upon the world incorporates the dialectical acts of denouncing and announcing -- denouncing the dehumanizing structures in which the oppressed find themselves, and concomitantly announcing a new structure that will humanize all people. Only those who denounce and announce can be prophetic and hopeful. "For what future have the oppressors but to preserve their present status as oppressor? What scope for announcing do oppressors have other than the announcement of their myths?...Conscientization, then, is the most critical approach conceivable to reality, stripping it down so as to get to know it and know the myths that deceive and perpetuate the dominating structure" (Freire, 1975, p. 3). Freire's conception of conscientization, then, is not intended to integrate an individual into present structures, but rather to generate the ideas of the

oppressed toward a vision of new society and to determine the political methods for achieving this in the face of the present societal constrictions (LaBelle, 1987, p. 202).

Often, many nonformal programs in Latin America were only conscientization rhetoric. Despite the use of Freire's concepts and terminology, the intent was distorted and coopted by developmentalists (Barndt, manuscript, p. 7). Consciousness raising often did not extend beyond the ability of peasants to articulate their opinions on their situation of oppression (LaBelle, 1986, p. 180). "Gajardo argues, for example, that after looking at programs in Latin America over the last ten years it has become evident to her that the objective of much consciousness raising does not extend to needed structural transformation" (LaBelle, 1986, p. 180). Conscientization separate from concrete political action leaves participants cynical and frustrated. In contrast, the concept of popular education deliberately goes beyond the conscientization process to advocate that the participants utilize methods for effecting structural change. "The basic factor in popular education (was) not the pedagogical process in and of itself, but rather the actions or struggles through which people were shaping their history" (Jara, manuscript, p. 8).

In this sense, Latin American popular education seeks to organize and systematize the fruits of the consciousness raising process. It is a collective process of learning and a social act of organizing not an individual mental process

(Barndt, manuscript, p. 3). "The most important tool in collective learning is dialogue, being able to communicate. It can't be a one-way process; it has to be dialogical. The teacher doesn't play the role of someone who has knowledge that he's [sic] going to transmit to the student. The role of the educator in a popular education process is not to give answers, but to make questions" (Baez, 1986, p. 3). It unifies community-based knowledge and social action to plan and promote popular interests. In this way, popular education is political, as are all educational processes, in that it chooses to change the status quo rather than to support it and thus breaks down the myth that education is neutral or apolitical. It is acknowledged that this process is historically based, in that,

> It is not the emergence of innovative pedagogical currents that give impulse to the expansion of popular education, but rather the objective needs and demands of popular mass movements that give impulse to a redefinition - in political terms - of the concepts of education (Jara, manuscript, p. 5).

This need for innovative pedagogy for popular mass movements would also give rise to a concurrent radical change in Roman Catholic theology, namely liberation theology, that advocates an 'option for the poor' and has led to the rise of a Latin American popular church. The history of the Roman Catholic Church and many other Christian denominations has been one of alliance with the centres of power and the sanction for their various interests. But, in Latin America, the cumulative effect of

the Medellin Bishops Conference in 1968, Vatican II, and the articulation of this theology of liberation rooted in grassroots pastoral work with the poor, set in motion social organizing such as base Christian communities, Delegates of the Word lay leadership programs, cottage industries, and union work. The popular Church, too, employed the dialogical method to make linkages between poverty and the sources of oppression and to crystallize a mobilizing force among the poor. Confidence began to replace vulnerability, protest began to replace feelings of incompetence, and popular religious symbols in liturgy began to replace the shame of indigenous traditions. In Paulo Freire's words, the Church (the popular Church as distinct from the hierarchical Church) in Latin America began experiencing its own Easter in that it died to elitism and was resurrected on the side of the oppressed (Freire, 1984, p. 525). This movement was crucial in breaking down the ideological hold on those dominated.

In Nicaragua, similar organizing and educational methods were practised by the university students on the campuses and in their home barrios. Whether using Marxist analysis and ideas of class stuggle or the ideas of liberation theology, they made inroads into the fears of the poor to awaken them to the possibilities for social change. Militant Marxist students, Social Christian students, and members of the FSLN eventually made contact to merge their efforts.

Loyal to Sandino's exhortation to 'teach them to read', the Sandinistas also implemented this praxis as part of their revolutionary ideology. The FSLN recruited, organized, and taught their members to read and write through the discussion of common problems and solutions that led to improvements in their living conditions, crop productivity, and union organizing. The collective sharing of knowledge and the praxis of reflection and action as well as the willingness to learn from errors to guide future action was the educational method that derived from their immediate experience. Literacy alongside political consciousness were the cornerstones of a new 'curriculum'. Omar Cabezas, an ex-guerilla commander, describes this education process thus:

> We would take hold of the campesino's hands, broad, powerful roughened hands. "These callouses," we asked, "how did you get them?" And they would tell how they came from the machetes, from working the land. We asked, why did that land belong to the boss and not to them? We were trying to awaken the campesino to his [sic] own dream. We wanted to make him [sic] see that though the dream was dangerous -- since it implied struggle -- the land was their right...Through our political work, many campesinos began partaking of that dream (Cabezas, 1985, p. 210).

In this manner, the experience of the revolution itself became the primary teacher of self-help, community organizing, creativity, and use of local resources (Arnove, 1986, p. 9).

As this cry for liberation reached a critical density, there came into existence a potential for assertive, organized political action that created the preconditions for societal restructuring (Bock, Papagiannis, 1983,

p. 345). This opening for the unmasking of the oppressive nature of the social relations was simply provided by people in various circumstances simultaneously asking critical questions about the nature of societal life and encouraging others to ask the same questions. Together this created a 'culture of voice' and the FSLN was the catalyst to guide economic, political, spiritual, ideological, and military action to opt for another form of social relations where they did not suffer domination. This revolutionary praxis, essentially an educational process, was not of state origin but arose as an intimate part of all aspects of people's lives, their work, their formal schooling, their family, their community, and their faith. Popular education was one expression of class struggle, of resistance to domination, in pre-revolutionary Nicaragua. This educational process would anticipate the possibilities for restructuring education in the post-revolutionary transition society.

Conclusion

In conclusion, various historical constraints shape the nature of the Nicaragua's transition process. First, through historical recounting, an attempt has been made to illustrate that the economic and political relations in Nicaraguan society are integrally related and have been conceptually separated through the development of capitalism and the theory of a liberal state. The nature of property ownership from communal landholding to encomieda (state ownership), to hacienda (private property), to plantation organization is the brief summary of the transition from primitive communism to feudalism to dependent capitalism. These transitions were integrally related to state formation as the fragmentation of all social relations. Schooling, then, was developed as the institutionalization of this fragmentation to obscure its role as part of the production relations.

Second, the class formation did not occur along the lines of European feudalism of industrial capitalism and resulted in the simultaneous existence of precapital and capital modes.

Third, the external dependence of the economy and state-oriented control over national development outside of the borders created mass poverty, external debt, and the need for external imports to offset the lack of production for internal consumption.

Fourth, the state was to act as the protector of the

power relations that were mediated through property relations and to depoliticize the consciousness of the populace to accept the domination. The instability of state formation due to political and economic dependence (although formally independent) impeded the ability to establish hegemony through constitutional rights and schooling. This resulted in a strong repressive apparatus.

Fifth, the role of mass schooling for ideological training and skill development for the modern sector proved to be irrelevant and threatening to Nicaraguan state needs and thus program offerings were restricted to the elite class for whom ideological formation and skill development were relevant. Needless to say, pre-revolutionary literacy was one of the lowest in Latin America.

The possibilities which arise out of this historical context are numerous. First, the long revolutionary history provided fertile ground for an active agent, such as the FSLN, to channel these expressions through an accurate understanding of history, sharpened through action, and an effective revolutionary strategy based on local conditions. The revolutionary praxis of the leadership underlines the experience of the continual need to meld theory and practice in a way that contributed to transforming society. They attempted to be relevant to the local conditions but consistent with the goal of socialism.

Second, an educational process that is dialogical, political, active (towards mass organizing), and oriented

toward the popular sector holds immense potential for continuing the conscientizing of the masses to embrace and consolidate the proletarian character of the revolution.

Third, revolutionary praxis, as an educational process, will also prepare the popular sector for mass participation in the democratic shaping of society and will release the productive potential of the population.

Fourth, the transition was begun by armed struggle and has relegated the bourgeoisie in a subordinate position and put the FSLN and mass organizations in control of the army, militia, police, economy, and state power.

Fifth, the alliances between the various dominated classes, particularly between the peasantry, proletariat, and petty bourgeoisie, offers potential for long term national unity.

Sixth, Nicaragua has plentiful land and water for its population as well as adequate natural energy and person power for production.

Seventh and finally, a conceptual and organizational reintegration of the political and economic that seeks to overcome the fragmentations inherent in the capitalist society will have a profound impact on the development of the productive forces, state formation, and societal relations. As Rosa Luxemburg explains,

> There are not two distinct struggles of the working class, one economic and the other political; there exists only one single struggle which simultaneously tends to limit capitalist exploitation within bourgeoise society and to eliminate capitalist exploitation and bourgeoise society at the same time (Luxemburg, 1978, p. 364).

These identified constraints and possibilities provide a framework for viewing the transitional process and the role of adult education within this transformation.

CHAPTER III

Democracy and the Transition to Socialism

The tasks facing revolutionary Nicaragua have been truly monumental. The FSLN had acquired the political power and legitimacy to enact comprehensive socio-economic transformation of Nicaraguan society. The Sandinista vision and their strategies highlight several key issues in the theoretical debate regarding the transition to socialism. As this is a very broad discussion that encompasses many diverse socialist experiences, the discussion shall be limited by focussing specifically on the debate surrounding Nicaragua. Given the limitations of this study, each issue cannot be discussed in detail and therefore the discussion will be limited to examples that best highlight three theoretical approaches primarily used in analyzing Nicaragua's transformation. Selected authors shall be critiqued on the basis of their analysis of class relations in one aspect of the transformation and their conclusion regarding whether or not Nicaragua is in the transition to socialism. Finally, the key relationship between democracy and the transition to socialism shall be discussed and a final assessment advanced regarding the possibility of a transition to socialism in Nicaragua. To begin this chapter, a brief synopsis of the revolutionary changes since the defeat of Somoza will provide the context for the discussion.

Revolutionary Transformation in Nicaragua

In July 1979, with 50,000 people dead, 100,000 wounded, 200,000 families homeless, vast urban and rural devastation, the legacy of a severely deficient social service system and ravaged economy, and a huge foreign debt of 1.5 billion dollars, the immediate social needs coupled with the desired long term changes appeared insurmountable. However, since 1979, major changes have occurred in every aspect of Nicaraguan life.

One task of the new revolutionary junta was to create a mixed economy of public and private enterprise to reach pre-revolutionary production levels. Within several years, both the pre-revolution export levels and self-sufficiency in several basic grains had been achieved. This has since been compromised by the contra war, U.S. trade embargo, and falling international prices. A climbing debt, rising inflation, increase in prices, severe shortages in commodities and capital goods, and fifty per cent of the national budget allocated to defense has created a serious economic crisis so that major development initiatives and the expansion of social services have been put on hold.

Despite these limitations and within a mixed economy strategy, agricultural reform has been one of the most significant areas of transformation. All somocista properties and under-utilized properties were immediately seized and put under the public auspices of the Area of People's Property (APP). Initially, few large farms were

divided and distributed to individual peasants to maintain productivity and labour availability, but a policy reform in 1984 resulted in the substantial individual land entitlement to stem both mass organization pressure and migration to urban centers and to enhance production. In 1984, 24 per cent of the cultivable land was under state farm production, 22 per cent was under cooperative production, and 54 per cent was under peasant and capitalist production (Deere, 1986, p. 110). Initiatives have also focussed on the provision of farming supplies and credit to the rural areas, the increase in crop prices and wages for agricultural labourers, and the encouragement of voluntary cooperativization. This illustrates the rural priority in the Sandinistas strategy. Rapid unionization, improved working conditions, and increasing worker participation in management have enhanced democratization and the rationalization of production in both the urban and rural sectors.

The strength of the new regime and its growing proclivity for moderation has made it possible for them to compromise and hence they have sought to build on the alliances that were created in the overthrow of the previous government. The multiclass and sectoral alliance between the peasants, workers, students, women, and petty bourgeoisie has been perpetuated through the attempt to consolidate national unity.

An alliance with the bourgeoisie has attempted to

utilize their skills in the economic recovery by raising the production levels while reciprocally granting them opportunities to participate in the decision making process and protecting their private property rights. It is expected, however, that Sandinista control of the army and international trade, nationalization of finance, and the support of the mass organizations will undermine the bourgeoisie struggle for reassertion of economic and political control. Nevertheless, class struggle has manifested itself in many forms from production to education.

Class struggle has increased in intensity and has manifested itself in many areas, such as the counterrevolutionary war, vicious attacks through the newspapers and hierarchical Church, and the undermining of popular support for various reforms, such as the education consultation. This has been countered by a strong political education program incorporated into the mass mobilizations.* One notable example has been the 1980 Literacy Crusade that reduced illiteracy from 50.35 per cent of the population over 10 years of age to 23 per cent in five months. It also succeeded in garnering the massive support of both the young literacy teachers as well as the newly literate population for the direction of the revolution. Similarly, through health crusades, infant mortality dropped

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* See Appendix for samples of the Literary Crusade materials that seek to politicize the consciousness of the popular class while teaching literacy skills.

from 58 per cent to 12 per cent, the incidence of malaria dropped 50 per cent, and life expectancy increased from 55 years to 57 years in the period of 1979 to 1982.

A new national state is being created that has attempted to unify diverse regions and the demands of various sectors of Nicaraguan society into the transformation project, from the Atlantic indigenous communities to women and youth. The state has tried to balance this with the organizational autonomy and self-determination of these groups. Although these efforts have been fraught with problems, a new constitution, new system of laws, various public forums for expressing opinions, an election in 1984, and a multi-party National Assembly partially illustrate the Sandinista commitment to political pluralism within a project of national unity.

Political mobilization has been achieved and sustained through the creation and consolidation of many mass organizations, unions, and political parties. Popular forms of education, health care, religion, army, and militia have contributed to the development of a participatory ideology.[21] National consultations on the new education

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21 Ideology refers to the system of ideas, practices, and values that function to legitimate and/or mystify a particular political socio-economic order. In a capitalist society, it functions to project a definition of reality that convinces the oppressed that their oppression is part of the natural order. Marx considered ideology no longer necessary in full communism where society will be perceived as it actually exists. During the transition period, an ideological system is necessarily consolidated that legitimates working class rule by breaking down capitalist hegemony. (The term hegemony, as used by Gramsci, denotes the ability of a

program and on the constitution are some of the channels provided for the populace to participate in determining the direction of the revolutionary society and further indicate the Sandinista commitment to democratic participation.

Finally, the Sandinista state has been determined to follow a non-aligned foreign policy. Trade and aid relations have been diversified internationally to avoid sole source dependency and to break down the American type-casting of Nicaragua as a Soviet satellite.

This summary indicates the substantial advances made in the quality of life and in establishing the basis for long term national change. Yet, analyses of the outcomes of these advances and the long term prospects vary according to the theoretical approach taken. Even though the majority of the selected authors acknowledge the relation between the political and economic, many choose to emphasize one aspect over the other. Thus, three theoretical approaches have been identified:[22] the economic emphasis, the political emphasis, and the dialectical emphasis.

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dominant class to persuade all other classes through social, political, economic, and ideological means, to a view of the world that enhances their ascendancy.)

22 The task of categorization has been undertaken with much trepidation given the desire not to simplify the intricacies of any one argument and the change of an author's thought over time. The identified categories do not imply that the authors are economistic or voluntarist but that they choose to emphasize one aspect in examining the transition.

Theoretical Approaches to the Transition to Socialism

The Economic Emphasis.

This approach has been identified as economic in the sense that it emphasizes the role of the economy in analyzing the nature of a transitional society. These authors recognize that the political has played an important part in the Nicaraguan revolution and thus they do not assert that the economic is the sole determinant or cause of societal change. However, they use the changes in the economic aspect as a major criterion for their analysis of class and in their assessment of how the transition to socialism occurs.

The first author to be considered will be Henri Weber. His book Nicaragua: The Sandinist Revolution characterizes the pre-revolutionary situation as an economic crisis where national political forces could no longer direct the economy due to global vulnerability (Weber, 1981, p. 26). The growing expropriation and proletarianization of agriculture and the inability of the national bourgeoisie to transform foreign capital into sustained national development left the Nicaraguan economy susceptible to global market fluctuations and unequal exchange (Weber, 1981, p. 26). He asserts that the nature of economic development has most directly affected the structure of social classes and the nature of the class conflict. The deteriorating conditions of the urban and rural workers led them to look to the bourgeoisie as the opposition that would lead their disaffection.

Weber considers the bourgeoisie as the first faction to break from accommodating Somoza's rule. He states,

> There can be no doubt, however, that in Nicaragua the bourgeois opposition itself opened up the crisis of the Somoza regime and actually led the first phase of the revolution. It was only at the end of the process, with the help of Somoza's intransigence, that the FSLN captured the leadership of the struggle (Weber, 1981, p. 33).

Weber's analysis focusses on the potential for the agri-industrial, Liberal bourgeoisie to claim the allegiance of the petty bourgeoisie, artisans, and professionals as natural allies. But as negotiations with Somoza deteriorated, the rising activity of the FSLN and their call for a total dismantling of the repressive apparatus rather than just a replacement of bourgeois leadership began to drain support away from the Liberal bourgeoisie. Eventually, the FSLN grew in political autonomy from their previous reliance on the legitimacy provided by the bourgeoisie. This symbolized the uneven development of popular radicalization where support was split between the two oppositions (Weber, 1981, p. 45). But as the bloodiness of the repression intensified and the Liberal solution was failing, the torrent of mass uprisings and their calls for expelling the Somocistas and the National Guard put the FSLN solidly at the head of the revolutionary movement.

From these events grew the present class alliances where (i) the proletariat and peasants united around the interests of the workers, (ii) they garnered the support of the 'middle layers', and (iii) they promoted permanent

divisions among the ruling class (Weber, 1981, p. 56). Weber feels that this alliance strategy was necessary to merge the full revolutionary potential between supporters of anti-imperialism and a socialist worker's option. Weber quotes Adolfo Gilly,

> If the FSLN had counterposed a socialist workers' front to the anti-imperialist front, treating the latter as an instrument of the bourgeoisie or as equivalent to a popular front...they would have taken a narrowly sectarian position which, on the false pretext of defending principles, would have been doomed to failure and would have forsaken any mobilization of the real mass movements as it first appeared under the dictatorship (Gilly, 1980, p. 136).

Nationalism and anti-imperialism were the initial mobilizers that would merge with the mass impulses for equality and liberty and lead to more mature phases of class consciousness before and after the revolution.

Weber is careful not to distinguish the FSLN as a radicalized, anti-imperial, petty-bourgeoisie organization and he indicates that the FSLN is not seeking national unity under bourgeois leadership but national unity under proletarian leadership. Despite the predominately bourgeois class origin of various FSLN leaders, they have proved an unwavering commitment to the working class. He is also clear to establish that there has been vigourous and continuous class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the FSLN-working class front and that the FSLN recognize that an ultimate confrontation will occur. However, it will not be a conflict between two equal powers. The subordinated bourgeoisie are not a dual, competing power as they have no control over the

army, police, judicial apparatus, and governmental functionaries (Weber, 1981, p. 65).

Weber characterizes the Nicaraguan revolution as a slow transition to socialism that will seek to completely transform the nature of the state and the mode of production. He views the revolutionary movement as a genuine workers' and farmers' government (Weber, 1981, p. 67) where the gradual strengthening of public ownership, economic planning, and the mass organizations will force the bourgeoisie further and further from the locus of economic and political power. This strategy obviously does not conform to those who advocate that full and immediate land and industry nationalizations, renunciation of the foreign debt, and forceful subordination of the bourgeoisie are necessary to qualify the Nicaraguan revolution as a socialist-oriented revolution. Nevertheless, Weber does not view the FSLN as voluntarist as they are allowing time for the consciousness of the masses to mature so that they might perceive the machinations of the bourgeoisie. As Gilly elaborates, the class struggle cannot be solved at the level of institutions until it is resolved in the relationship of social forces (Gilly, 1980, p. 113).

In addressing the issue of democracy, Weber challenges the FSLN on incidences of extreme authoritarian actions and their cynicism regarding aspects of bourgeois democracy, such as the right of suffrage, as opposed to the class content of the revolution. By neglecting methods for actual

choice in national issues, he warns that the FSLN will degenerate into a bureaucratic system that does not represent the actual expressions of the workers. This can never be called a proletarian democracy. Only by adopting various forms of democracy, particularly worker's democracy, can the socialist mode of production be fully realized. He concedes that the very nature of the gradual, compromising transition in the economic sphere may account for the rigid authoritarianism in the political sphere (Weber, 1981, p. 118).

Finally, Weber sees the major constraints on the revolutionary movement and particularly its democratic tendencies to be the reintegration into the world economy and the counterrevolution. These two factors he asserts will ultimately determine the existence of socialism in Nicaragua. For instance, he felt that an American economic blockade would necessitate an authoritarian response to class struggle that would replace the conflictual alliance with all-out struggle (Weber, 1981, p. 110). Also, a long term counterrevolutionary war would result in the long term militarization of Nicaraguan society and a prolonged state of emergency that would not enable the opportunity for a 'democratic, pluralist transition to socialism' to develop.

The second author to be considered with an economic emphasis is Richard Harris. In his articles, "A Commentary on the Contemporary Conjuncture in Nicaragua," "Evaluating Nicaragua's Agrarian Reform," "The Revolutionary

Transformation of Nicaragua" and his book Nicaragua: A Revolution under Seige, a somewhat similar line of analysis is followed. Harris asserts that it is the counterrevolution that is the principal constraint in Nicaragua's economic development in that it presently compromises and may negate FSLN state control and reinstate capitalism. Harris considers economic bureaucratization of the public sector and democratization as a secondary problem to the threat of counterrevolution and the economic crisis (Harris, 1983, p. 114). Even though the revolutionary forces control state power, this power cannot be consolidated until the threat of counterrevolution has passed. The counterrevolution is the source of the majority of the economic problems through the substantial and costly destruction of crops, farms, clinics, transportation links, and schools.

He goes on to argue that the mixed economy strategy to promote reconstruction is failing, given the private sector's uncooperativeness and that class struggle is a key factor in the present conjuncture. The refusal of the private sector to invest in the economy will strangle future growth, national reconstruction, and popular support for the Sandinista regime. In his 1983 article, Harris further proposes that the counterrevolution propaganda would compromise any attempt to establish elections and liberal freedoms, and hence he felt that tight, centralized, and authoritarian state control over all aspects of national life was necessary until such time that the threat of

counterrevolution subsided and the material base for popular self-government developed. Only then could a transfer in economic and political power to the popular sectors be granted.

In his 1985 article, Harris has softened this argument somewhat by suggesting that, even with the structural constraints of war, external economic dependency, and private sector resistance, immediately pursuing efforts to overcome the low level development of the productive forces is a necessary precondition for the transition to socialism. Harris feels that a small underdeveloped economy does not preclude the possibility of "self-directed, autonomous, and integrated industrialization" given a convergence between local demand and local resources (Harris, 1985, pp. 36, 73). He offers only a cursory discussion regarding increasing state ownership, socializing the means of production, and a maturing of the political consciousness and technical skills of the populace and considers these aspects as an enhancement to the development rather than central to it.

In 1987, Harris concedes that although one would expect an authoritarian response to the structural constraints, the FSLN is obviously committed to democratizing Nicaraguan society. However, he views the redirection of the agrarian reform in 1984 to be ironic as consolidation of the state sector would be expected. Instead, small individual producers predominate over the state sector and this he considers to be the result of the war and the need for

increased production.

Although both Richard Harris and Henri Weber pose important arguments regarding the conjunctural constraints on the revolution, namely war and dependency, these factors do not preclude development, socialization, or democratization. Both Harris and Weber underestimated the potential for democratization despite the constraints and their predictions regarding the need for authoritarianism and state control were proven incorrect by Sandinista practice itself. Once the process of centralization and thus bureaucratization has been established against the external threat, the view that it is possible to build popular power many years later underestimates the depth of social alienation and sense of betrayal that would have occurred by that time. Nicaragua's revolution is attempting to transform all levels of society simultaneously and one aspect, such as defense against the counterrevolution, is not necessarily priorized at the expense of another aspect that is also fundamental to the envisioned socialism. Jaime Wheelock reflects,

> But there is a third aspect we want to emphasize so that the logic of the Sandinista economy can be fully understood. This aspect is the political one - the question of national unity. We seek to emerge from poverty and rehabilitate and reactivate our economy while maintaining national unity. It is a very difficult and complex task... (Wheelock, 1981, p. 117).

The economic emphasis focus to generate a greater willingness to advocate state control and authoritarian measures than relying on the abilities and initiatives of

individual and cooperative producers who democratically control production or on the moral and ideological authority that the Sandinistas wield within the society to educate the popular sector regarding these constraints as manifestations of the class struggle. To explore this aspect, we now turn to the political emphasis.

The Political Emphasis.

James Petras directly responds to Harris in his article "Workers' Democracy: The Key to Defending the Revolution and Developing the Productive Forces - Response to Richard Harris." Petras considers the key to any analysis as being revolutionary Sandinista control of state power. Given the extensive internal control of the FSLN over the army, police, militia, banks, international trade, state production, their support from the media and mass organizations, and their legitimacy and political 'capital' garnered through popular support for their policies, Petras emphasizes that comparisons with the previous Chilean, Jamaican, and other Latin American experiences are not warranted given the dissimilarity in the extensiveness of state power.

Further, Petras challenges Harris' assumptions that centralized bureaucratic control is more efficient and effective, that defense precludes mass democratic participation, and that bureaucratic forms of organization justified through the need for defense can later be transformed into democratic forms (Petras, 1983, p. 117).

Petras claims that,

> the most effective defense of the revolution is one in which the workers and peasants have a direct influence - a "material stake" - in the making of decisions (as well as receiving socioeconomic benefits)...It is precisely because the issue of "defending the revolution" has become so primary that direct popular involvement becomes so decisive: a revolutionary socialist democracy is the essential element in the self-mobilization against U.S. directed counterrevolution (education and struggling at the same time) and the best guarantee that the victorious revolutionary struggle will not end up in the hands of a bureaucratic elite. The most formidable weapon in the arsenal of the Nicaraguan Revolution is the revolutionary consciousness of the masses: the capacity for rank-and-file mobilization, discussion and commitment behind a revolutionary program. It is this political will which undergirds the revolution (Petras, 1983a, p. 118).

The capacity for the masses to discuss, debate, and decide how they will change the production relations and state relations is considered crucial to the establishment of socialist democracy. Petras considers the economic crisis and counterrevolutionary war to be the 'normal' context in which revolutionary socialist societies develop. New societal relations must be constructed and progress towards socialism initiated within these constraints.

In the 1981 article, "Nicaragua: The Transition to a New Society" he focusses on the historical external links that perpetuate dependency and he poses this as an important limitation to the overall socialist ends. He considers this confrontation with imperialism as simply the manifestation of technological, economic, and financial dependency that results in military intervention. In this situation, he proposes that Nicaraguan policy should focus on

consolidating internal unity, gradual economic change, and nonaligned foreign policy. Like Weber, Petras is careful to discern gradualism not as evidence of a national unity alliance with the bourgeoisie but as evidence of the political strength of the FSLN.

Petras proposes that the maintenance of private ownership has, in part, been continued in order to maximize financial and market support from Western as well as Eastern sources. Although dependence is perpetuated by obtaining support from external sources, it diversifies dependence from a sole source or bloc of sources and would ease a future rupture once production has attained a degree of self-sufficiency (Petras, 1981, p. 90).

The main issue, as Petras sees it, is the bureaucratization of the public economy. Only an organized and conscientized labour force that participates in decision making in all spheres can contribute to the socialization of societal life. Yet, he feels that the FSLN assumes that mass participation will consistently agree with state plans and that if there are differences, the masses need further political education and persuasion or, at most, discipline and subordination to centralized decision making. The prevailing propensity of the FSLN has been to increase the political consciousness through mass involvement in planning and implementing initiatives for the reconstruction. This most effectively wages class struggle. The key relation then is between the state and mass organizations where the

balance of autonomy, unity of purpose, and dynamism of debate will ultimately affect the degree of workers' control existent in Nicaraguan society.

The second author with a political emphasis to be considered is Carlos Vilas, not because his analysis focuses predominately on the political, but because he perceives that the political is primary in national liberation movements as distinct from the transition to socialism process and he claims that the political is relatively autonomous from the material forces. In his book, The Sandinista Revolution: National Liberation and Social Transformation in Central America, Vilas identifies four basic issues with regards to third world revolutions: that of the national question, the development question, the democratic question, and the class question. He chooses to concentrate his efforts on class formation as it undercuts the other three issues (Vilas, 1986, p. 37).

Vilas characterizes the pre-revolutionary class system as involving: the antinational camp, composed of the "oligarchs, sell-outs, and traitors" or, in other words, the dominant elites supported by the imperial-backed politico-military apparatus; and the national camp, composed of the complex of petty bourgeoise, working class, artisans, peasantry, students, and so on (Vilas, 1986, p. 29). This broadly defined national camp then justifies the designation as a 'popular' grouping as the sectors are not solely defined by their relation to production. However, Vilas

considers that once political power was seized and the antinationals (acting as representatives of imperialism) were ousted, the 'popular' grouping would disintegrate into their orthodox class interests once the commitment to transition to socialism is elaborated (Vilas, 1986, p. 46). He thus poses one main issue to be the class-nation contradiction whereby class conflict must be resolved without losing national unity (Vilas, 1986, p. 30).

Vilas offers an analysis of the class origins of those who participated in the military struggle in order to assess the nature of the revolution. Of the insurrectionary participants, students constituted 29 per cent, tradespeople 22 per cent, labourers 16 per cent, office workers 16 per cent, professionals 7 per cent, small merchants 5 per cent, and peasants and farmers constituted 4.5 per cent. The peasants, farmers and small merchants, however, have a higher representation when analyzing them as parents of the participants. Most notably, the proletariat was not a dominant force in the overthrow. Comparatively, over 80 per cent of the students involved were from petty bourgeois or middle class backgrounds (Vilas, 1986, pp. 110-114). Based on the analysis of the participants in the insurrection, he concludes that it is not just a working class leadership in its narrow understanding but a popular leadership that operates on the interplay of interests across the broad spectrum of petty bourgeoise, rural worker, urban worker, intellectual, student, unemployed, and peasant. It is their

common political subordination rather than their common relationship to production that is dominant at this point in the revolution.

At this stage of transformation, a confrontation with the bourgeoisie has been subordinated to the project of national unity to combat imperial militarization and stimulate economic recovery. Vilas terms this class coexistence without class conciliation (Vilas, 1986, p. 240), where the class struggle to this point is oriented to the ideological sphere; in religion, education, and political rights. Similarly, because he considers 'the people' to refer to a political-ideological grouping rather than a structural-economic class, he has characterized the Nicaraguan revolution to be a popular, agrarian, and national liberation revolution with potential for socialism.

Vilas argues that Nicaragua is in the transition to development not the transition to socialism. He states that Nicaragua is still an agroexport capitalist society in contrast to a socialist society that should be characterized by the socialization of the means of production, reorienting of the accumulation process with substantial benefits being given to the workers. The FSLN has only strengthened the material bases, redefined not rejected external economic links, and provided limited space for private capital accumulation. Only when they concentrate on the transformation of the relations of production by constructing the leadership of the working class over other

sectors in this national camp and the socialization of the economy will a transition to socialism have been initiated (Vilas, 1986, pp. 23, 38).

A final consideration of his argument is his conception of the state and mass organization relationship. He views the role of the mass organizations both as a mediator that can manipulate and control people's input, and as a channel that makes popular participation possible. Based on this last point, he proposes that the state is a totally new form that is being created through the exercise of this collective practice, as distinguished from the isolated individual rights found in a liberal bourgeois society (Vilas, 1986, p. 251). However, having said this he claims that popular participation, as the main element of democracy, is more advanced in the productive sphere than in the political sphere despite the autonomous, political power of the mass organizations from the state apparatus. The state apparatus is considered to still be underdeveloped and will only be further developed through mass participation.

Both of these authors emphasize the political will necessary to overcome the economic and military constraints present in Nicaraguan development. They do not consider these constraints as precluding development or democratization, but that these two factors will assist in surviving the economic crisis and the contra war. The dialectical emphasis considers the economic constraints and political possibilities as a totality.

The Dialectical Emphasis.

Both of the following authors, Orlando Nuñez Soto and José Luis Coraggio consider the revolution to be a dialectical totality whereby an analysis of the economic and political cannot be separated. They consider that the proletarianization of the populace and the economic conditions for its development must proceed reciprocally in order to build a socialist society.

Orlando Nuñez Soto, in his two articles "Ideology and Revolutionary Politics in Transitional Societies" and "The Third Social Force in National Liberation Movements," argues that the primary difference between revolutions in the metropole and periphery is that the former begins on the basis of advanced proletarianization whereas this process must still be developed in the latter. Nuñez establishes that the material forces and how they shape social relations and the relation between revolutionary practice and ideology comprise the two most salient relationships that mutually interact to create a socialist society. This society would be characterized as being collectivized, with democratic economic and political decision making, collectivization and decommoditization of daily life, a recovery of the collective[23] consciousness, and the elimination of classes, the state, and the family (Nuñez, 1987, p. 233). Although it is political practice that provides the space to embark on

23 "Collective" activity here is taken here as the primacy of the collective unit as distinct from individual action.

such a trajectory, the unity of the superstructure and economic base in socialist praxis becomes more relevant once a revolution has occurred.

Nuñez goes on to criticize the 'orthodox Latin American Marxist belief' that appropriate material conditions must exist before revolution can be provoked and that the present social and material forces will necessarily determine the shape that the revolution takes. He considers the following errors in the application of Marx's theory of revolution and he identifies them as "the mechanical equation of: (1) the proletariat (historical subject) and the organization (political subject); (2) the physical composition of the revolutionary class with the class content of the revolutionary project; and (3) the revolutionary process culminating in the seizure of power with the revolutionary process leading to a socioeconomic transformation which can only take place once power has been seized" (Nuñez, 1986, p. 6).

Given the underdeveloped capitalist productive forces in imperialized countries, Nuñez asserts that in national liberation movements, the armed struggle does "not necessarily emanate [sic] from the centers of work; the struggle is not necessarily carried on by the proletariat but is led by an organization which strives to unify the popular bloc of the masses commonly referred to as "the people"" (Nuñez, 1986, p. 6). This popular-democratic and anti-imperialist revolution is not yet a proletarian

revolution.

Nuñez identifies a 'third social force' which comprises those who "are neither capitalists nor productive wage workers, neither full time peasants nor permanently employed wage earners. In other words, the third social force is constituted primarily by the middle sectors of the towns and cities...who are not organically integrated into the centers of productive capital. They are forced, consequently, to eke out a meager existence on the margins of the sphere of circulation" (Nuñez, 1986, p. 7). So in Nuñez' perspective, it is no longer just the proletariat in the center of production or a worker-peasant alliance that plays the role of revolutionary leadership, but now this third social force in third world national liberation movements must be considered as a legitmate and necessary part of the leadership for the seizure of power (Nuñez, 1986, p. 7).

Marx and many subsequent theorists and revolutionaries have indicated that the class origin of a person does not determine their level of consciousness or the class interest for which they choose to work (Marx, 1852; Gramsci, 1971; Cabral, 1969; Vilas, 1986, p. 39; Nuñez, 1986, p. 21). For instance, it is evident in Nicaragua that some petty bourgeoise have subordinated their class interests to the overall thrust of the national liberation project. Commandante Carlos Nuñez claims,

> The petty bourgeoisie is totally identified with the revolution...insofar as the revolutionary movement, the workers' movement and the popular movement as a whole is enormously strong...insofar

> as the revolutionary movement grows stronger or weaker the petty bourgeoisie wavers. When the revolutionary movement is strong it always tends to embrace the revolutionary interests so if we engage in education to inculcate in them the discipline, the example, the technique, and the self-denial of the proletariat, we can have them permanently at our side (Nuñez, C., 1980, p. 107).

As one example, Orlando Nuñez Soto considers the role of youth (defined as between the ages of 10 and 20 and who comprise over 50 per cent of the Nicaraguan population) in the revolution. Despite the variety in their class heritage, the youth overwhelming rejected the seduction of the bourgeois illusions as it became evident that these material promises were empty. The youth were, by and large, unemployed or students, and given these circumstances, the majority became combatants who opted to defend the interests of the working class regardless of their class origin.

Therefore, when the Sandinistas refer to the revolution as being in the interests of the working class, Orlando Nuñez asserts that this is not an exclusive concept that bars those of a different economic class from aligning themselves with the struggle of the oppressed and participating in the leadership of this popular bloc in a national liberation movement. The Nicaraguan task is that of remaking various sectoral interests into a proletariat to achieve social liberation. The Sandinistas are continuing to attempt to develop a popular working class consciousness through proletarian ideology that will build an alternative society. Nuñez refers to this as the proletarianization of the whole Nicaraguan society; for just as the bourgeoisie

implanted their ideas and political practices in the heart of other social classes, so now is this new revolutionary working class implanting its ideology, political, and economic power among the other classes and sectors allied with it (Nuñez, 1986, pp. 233, 235). He summarizes,

> To want to make a political revolution only with the dominated class, or only around the interests of that class, is to lose historical perspective of the struggle. That approach would allow the bourgeoisie to win over the remaining social sectors, and limit the development and transformation of the potentially revolutionary classes. The same error that orthodox analysts make...[is] they...disqualify the movement as proletarian because its social composition is hybrid or hetergeneous, or because the proletariat itself is not directly running the government. They see revolution as nothing more than one class taking and exercising political power, forgetting that the revolution is the realization of a social project that is most certainly led by the interests of one class, but with the participation of the other dominated social sectors (Nuñez, 1986, pp. 237-238).

The legitimacy of the Sandinista state is founded on the the use of political power in the popular interests and it risks alienating some of these interests if the interests are not unified and projected as part of the larger movement. In other words, the revolutionary nature of the popular working class can be found in its ability to allow the participation of all previously oppressed classes to forge a social project that universally defends all the popular interests (Nuñez, 1986, p. 241).

Nuñez concludes that once it is apparent that the logic of capitalist development in a peripheral society will not develop new forms, power must be seized. In the third world,

this will usually be in the form of a national liberation movement lead by proletarianized revolutionaries. Subsequently, those sectors not traditionally considered proletariat will need to become transformed into the working class. The revolution truly becomes a liberation project once the majority of the historical subjects understand and participate in their historical role. Together the social and material base will shape the direction of the revolution.

The second author, José Luis Coraggio, in his article "Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism: Reflections on the Nicaragua Experience" and in his book Nicaragua: Revolution and Democracy considers the separation between the economy and politics to be a manifestation of capitalist domination (Coraggio, 1986, p. 143). He outlines the primary tasks of the Sandinistas which, to him, is to expose this capitalist perception of severed societal relations and to create a new social pedagogy based on the logic of the majority. Economics and politics do not operate on two separate logics that justify the domination of one class over another but their dialectical relationship can contribute to the building of a revolutionary hegemony that will view sectoral interests as part of the general interest. There is a political aspect in economics and an economic aspect in the political. As an example of his view, he perceives the politico-economic changes to be the 'rearguard' of the imperialist war rather than a separate or

determinant factor.

With this approach, Coraggio argues that class cannot be reduced to one exclusive, independent relation, such as an economic relation, but that class involves a system of relations and that changing one relation or structure in a society impacts on another, as they are mutually dependent. Particularly in Nicaragua, classes are malleable and mobile in their identities given their uncertain relation to production. For instance, peasants may be wage earners for part of the year and individually farm a small plot for the rest of the year or be marginalized in the urban, informal sector. If factors such as these are not considered, many political and economic initiatives may contradict or compromise the overall revolutionary project. An example he offers is the rejection by various ministries of any elements that appear to be economistic to the point where solid economic planning is jeopardized by what he calls 'collective voluntarism' (Coraggio, 1986, p. 153). Similarly, the legacy of state fragmentation has resulted in isolated decisions or goals by one ministry that have not been consistent with other ministries.

Coraggio claims that the role of the state is central to the transformation process given the congenital weakness of the civil society. He underlines one of the central relations to be the party, state, and mass organizations and a key issue to be the nature of power. If power is considered as regenerative rather than 'seized' from

another, then expanding popular power can complement state power. He warns that if class struggle is focussed on the state then the dynamism of the mass organizations in developing the class struggle in such areas as defense, production, and education would be restricted and hinder proletarianization.

Finally, he advocates the fundamental need for an accepted theoretical approach to complement empiricism in advancing the revolution; a participatory social pedagogy that recognizes that political will cannot continue to provide the solution to the economic crisis and that economic constraints or imperialist aggression does not necessarily fully cause or limit certain political solutions. It must integrate the masses into all aspects of societal decision making to strengthen the fundamental relations of the revolution.

Key Issues in the Transition to Socialism

Together, these three approaches highlight several key issues that are particularly present in the dynamic of the Nicaraguan revolution. The world system analysis of both Weber and Harris emphasize the economic and counter-revolutionary constraints on revolutionary transformation particularly due to the global economy linkages. Counterrevolution is one manifestation of global class struggle that has resulted from unequal development. They question the possibilities of autonomous development and progressive socialization especially in the event of

Nicaragua's re-entry into the global market. Hence, they do not consider the global preconditions or even a sufficient level of national productive forces to be present in order to render a transition to socialism immediately possible. Harris characterized the revolution as nationalist and anti-imperialist and Weber characterized it as a 'slow transition to socialism'.

These two authors have contributed to the discussion by drawing a distinction between anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism and pointed out that even though imperialism is considered to be a form of capitalism, a national liberation movement can lead to the development of national capitalism rather than socialism.

The structuralist analysis of Vilas orients his analysis to the relative autonomy of the superstructure from the base and enables him to consider the political structure to be dominant and hence his focus on state initiatives. With the tentative economic transformations towards socialization of the means of production and the subordination of proletarianization to national unity, he concludes that Nicaragua is not in the transition to socialism but in the transition to development.

The dependency analysis of Petras also focusses on the centrality of the state strategies for balancing the socio-economic expectations of the masses, progressive democratization, and economic development within the confines of technological, financial, and economic

dependency.

These two authors have contributed to the discussion by challenging the notion that the state must employ authoritarianism and commandism to carry out a transition. By focussing on the role of democracy, the state, and mass organizations in the transition, they also suggest an alternative process of state formation and economic transformation that can occur from 'bottom up' participation.

The political economy analysis of Nuñez and Coraggio focusses on the interconnections between all the problems experienced in the transitional experience. Rather than isolating the various segments for analysis, they are examined in their full context. The contribution of this approach has been to challenge a narrow conception of class that does not consider both economic and political relations as fundamental to class identity. This, then, also challenges the notion of class struggle and Coraggio suggests a more comprehensive concept such as "social struggle" that would incorporate other sectors distinguished by gender, age, race and so forth, into class determination (Coraggio, 1986, p. 167).

Utilizing the dialectical approach as a springboard for the remaining discussion, economics and politics shall be considered as two aspects of the same reality that are not divisible as separate entities but are internally related. A relational analysis would consider one potential of the

revolution to lie in the popular mass organizations, which at present provide education through production with the state being the locus of power in anticipation of the degeneration of state political power. Simultaneously perceiving economic and political power as a dialectic still separates these aspects into two separate moments, two separate logics, however related. But they are not separate except through this conceptualization. Political and economic power are not "things" that one acquires but are relations between people. Therefore the power of the working mass is a particular relation that is simultaneously manifested in both the economic and political aspects of life.

If the state is to "wither away" as Marx claimed, then it should not be the state that consolidates its economic power through political power. Rather politico-economic power should be developed through the action of the popular working class in their own interests where their own organizations strengthen and eventually subsume state power. It is only because the state is so central an institution in bourgeois society that social struggles will take a state form. While elements of a capitalist division of labour exist, the working class interests will need to be projected through the state as the general interest (Sayer, 1987, p. 250). Conceiving of state power as ascendant is a bourgeois conception that effectively separates political and economic power and prevents direct popular control over

all human activities. "The state as such is a form of alienation in which social powers are taken from the people and enshrined in specialized apparatuses" (Sayer, 1985, p. 250). If the political and the economic are fused together under state control, such as in many Eastern bloc nations, then this effectively alienates popular power through bureaucratization.[24] However, if politico-economic power is created as a natural outgrowth of popular mass activity then this is the truest manifestation of revolutionary praxis.

We now turn to an integral part of the discussion regarding the transition to socialism, that of democratizing societal relations. The process of socialization must hinge directly on the process of direct participation by the majority of the population, who were previously excluded from political and economic power, in the act of revolution, in the defense of the revolution, and in the building of a new socio-economic formation. It is the process of breaking down these old relations that is crucial to the actual attainment of democracy.

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24 Bureaucratization is characterized by the lack of separation between political decisions and administrative tasks. Thus party policies pervade every aspect of society and result in a layer of bureaucrats who become progressively separated from the population and who may accumulate privilege for themselves.

Democracy and the Transition to Socialism

Democracy, as an ideal, is often considered as most able to expand the possibilities for human freedom. Socialism as an ideal, is often considered as most able to expand the possibilities for human equality. Together, then, socialism and democracy are inseparable. Socialism is inherent to the progress of democracy but democracy is inherent the progress of socialism. Capitalism is considered as restricting the possibilities for both socialism and democracy as commodity relations are an obstacle to the control of a proletarianized populace over all societal relations.

It is important to stress that Nicaragua is undergoing a transitional, a process, not an immediate socialist transformation. Yet, do the tendencies elaborated above add up to a transition to socialism?

If the identification of socialism revolves around class relations, it is essential that entirely new social relations be developed as the old class relationships which existed under bourgeois control are slowly eroded. The new social relations can take different forms according to concrete historical conditions, but it must be the power of the workers themselves assuming societal control (Bettelheim, 1971, p. 45). So, in sum, Nicaragua can be said to be undergoing the transition to socialism only if new societal relations are being developed that consolidate proletariat power. In Nicaragua, this takes the form of mass

mobilization whereby the working masses are increasingly politicized and the workers take greater initiative and responsibility (Lowy, 1986, p. 278; Sweezy, 1971, p. 54). This overall process is referred to in Nicaragua as participatory democracy.

A comparision of democracy in a bourgeois state and democracy in a theoretical proletarian state will be helpful here by way of asking two questions: "Whose interests are manifested in the state power?" and "What are the concrete relations between the state and the labouring masses?" (Bettelheim, 1971, p. 57). But first, in an apparent diversion, it is important to discuss the historical origins of the concept of democracy and its contemporary connection to liberalism and capitalism.

The contemporary practice of democracy has evolved primarily in relation to capitalism, and subsequently, various distinctions of the concept of democracy have been advanced: that of "bourgeois" liberal democracy; "proletarian" democracy; representative democracy; adversarial democracy; and direct, unitary, or substantive democracy. These distinctions regarding 'types' of democracy shall be avoided. Rather democracy shall be perceived as a dynamic form in which various manifestations of democracy arise in different contexts, but where it achieves its full potential in a socialist society. In this way, then, the need to distinguish democracy as operational only in the political (the state) or the economic sphere (in production)

can hopefully give way to a unified perception that transcends these fragmentations. This can be done by attempting to assess the overall process of democratization, as separate from its manifestations in a liberal capitalist society.

Historical Origins of Democracy.

Prior to the Age of Enlightenment, the duality of individual and the state found its origin in the philosophies of Aristotle. Aristotle distinguished between the association of the household (founded on the hierarchy of husband/wife and master/slave) and the association of the polis or city state, that is, the association of free and equal persons bound together by a common search for justice secured by law (Sayer, Frisby, 1986, p. 15). Aristotle considered this political association to be based on friendship as respect among equals, so that even if individual interests differed, all full citizens would deliberate face-to-face for the common good. Jane Mansbridge cites the following quotation from Aristotle,

> Equality, which knitteth friends to friends cities to cities, allies unto allies, Man's [sic] law of nature is equality (Mansbridge, 1980, p. 14).

Although Athenian democracy incorporated some forms of what Mansbridge terms "unitary" democracy (utilizing cooperation as the basis of political procedure), elements of "adversarial" democracy (recognizing situations of conflict that were dealt with by majority rule and a formal one citizen/one vote system) were present. These two

procedures legitimized the competing and conflicting interests of individuals and contributed to the the distinction between civil society and the state.

The disintegration of feudal societies and the rise of the economic system of capitalism supported by the Protestant ethic, led Thomas Hobbes to write that a peaceful community of humans as a natural state was an incorrect analysis and that, "the condition of Man [sic]...is a condition of Warre of everyone against every one" (Hobbes, 1958, p. 189). Hobbes' interpretation of the state of nature indicates that each person is vying to enhance his or her power over and above other persons. This philosophy established the basis for a competitive market society. Hobbes felt that a strong, sovereign power was necessary to regulate this individualism.

Locke took this theory further by suggesting a social contract whereby a government is invested with the power granted by civil society to enforce the 'natural law' of self-protection of all citizens from all other citizens. This assumption of a natural law corresponded to the contemporary scientific thinking which also sought to understand the 'laws' of nature in order to establish mechanisms to harness and control these natural forces in order to forward 'civilization' and the rational life. Yet, for Locke, the law of reason and the privilege of ruling applied only to those citizens who had an interest in the preservation of their private property. Thus, use of

majority rule sought to regulate the conflict of propertied interests. The Levellers in England, however, argued that the poor, unpropertied classes required an equal vote to defend their interests as well, but it would be some time before this theory was instituted.

Rousseau questioned this assumption of the natural state of war and proposed that the natural state was, in fact, distorted by certain social and political relations that had developed with the advent of private property. Rousseau claimed that humans are, by nature, social with a general will and it is social organizations that are constituted on inequalities that breed `vice' and competition.

Adam Smith, synthesizing the theories of adversarial democracy (comprised of competitive individualism, property rights, and representative government) and the common good of humans irrevocably bound together in society, devised the theory of laissez-faire economics where self-interested individuals enter the marketplace to pursue their interests and that this activity would jointly contribute to the common good. The underlying importance of this theory is the further fragmentation of the civil society from the state where the division of labour relegates "experts" to this formal responsibility of `politics'. Individuals no longer were considered bound to the state through a contract but as pursuing their own interests by making demands on the system according to their power. The assumption is that each

individual is the best analyst of his or her own interests and therefore all persons need an equally-weighted vote to guarantee an equal distribution of power and hence, protection. But, the state changed from a theoretically neutral body of politicians to brokers who assessed the weight of various vocal interests and were made accountable by votes that indicated the level of support for their policies. In modern liberal states, the distribution of power through voting has led to the gradual extension of the franchise to all members of society, despite property ownership or gender.

Hegel adopted Rousseau's critique of private self-interest and extended the notion of the interdependence between individuals on each other, for meeting their common needs. He perceived a dialectical relationship between the public and private spheres of life. In this respect, the public sphere was the association of free and equal persons without domination and the private sphere was characterized by the domination of property owners. Marx was to pick up this analysis by attributing this domination to the specific economic system of capitalism. Marx considered that the mystification of this economic domination was in part due to the illusion of equality and order provided by the political system of democracy.

It may be concluded that democracy as manifested in liberal states is "classist" because it serves the interests of a minority of non-producers (capital owners) through

separating the state apparatus from the producers and allowing them to use it to forward their own interests. These circumstances can also be manifested in a "socialist" system, where state regulation on behalf of the proletariat (producers) becomes state regulation on behalf of the state (non-producers).

The key aspect during the transition to socialism then is the unity of purpose between the state apparatus and the working mass that operates in the interests of the latter. This requires the development of new social relations where 'the people' can exercise their power in decision making, policy administration, community direction, and community security. Democracy, as we shall consider it, is this process of participation by the society's members in all the aspects of a society's functioning by being involved, in factory councils, municipal and national governments, school boards, neighbourhood groups, and so on (Coraggio, 1985, p. 20). Michael Lowy, in his article "Mass Organization Party and State: Democracy in the Transition to Socialism," capsulates the notion that democracy is not contradictory to socialism, but is fundamental to its fulfillment.

> "Democracy is not a problem of 'political form' or institutional 'superstructure': it is the very content of socialism as a social formation in which workers and peasants, young people, women, that is, the people, effectively exercise power and democratically determine the purpose of production, the distribution of the means of production, and the allocation of the product (Lowy, 1986, p. 264).

In many self-proclaimed socialist nations, Lenin's

notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat has become the dictatorship over the proletariat by a beseiged vanguard which seeks to protect the right of national self-determination and who autocratically rule the proletariat while educating them to their `true' interests. The Nicaraguan experience is the embryonic justification for the claim that democratic means are necessary in order to achieve socialism given that socialism is fundamentally a democratic vision.

Avoiding the problem of exercising power without the active and deliberate participation of the working masses, pinpoints the interrelation between mobilization and conscientization. The consciousness of `the people' can only be reformed as they struggle and actually participate in national development. Revolutionary praxis may be defined as the conjuncture of social change and human self-transformation where, as the masses participate in the revolutionary struggle and in societal transformation, they transform themselves, raise their consciousness and solidarity, and create a `new human being' (Lowy, 1986, p. 265). Marx, himself, advocated this view in The German Ideology,

> For the production of this communist consciousness on a mass scale and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of men [sic] on a mass scale is required. This can only take place in a practical movement, in a revolution. A revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can succeed only by revolution in getting rid of all the traditional muck and become capable of

establishing society anew (Marx, 1846b, p. 265).

Hence, without a democratic process that unleashes the creativity of the people to transform their society, they will not transform themselves. A bureaucratized dictatorship over the proletariat is likely to develop -- one that will never emancipate the people on their behalf. Rosa Luxemburg makes the point in the following statement,

> Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who thinks differently...Socialism in life demands a complete spiritual transformation in the masses degraded by centuries of bourgeois class rule. Social instinct in place of egotistical ones, mass initiative in place of inertia, idealism which conquers all suffering...The only way to a rebirth of this is the school of public life itself, the most unlimited, the broadest democracy and public opinion...Without general elections, without unrestricted freedom of press and assembly, without a free struggle of opinion, life dies out in every public institution, becomes a mere semblance of life, in which only the bureaucracy remains as the active element (Luxemburg, 1972, pp. 245-249).

These statements illustrate the crucial relationships between revolutionary leadership, mass participation, and conscientization/mobilization.

Revolutionary Leadership and Mass Participation.

If democracy is to pervade the complex of societal life, then specialization of decisioning must give way to collective discussion and criticism that is mutually educative of the person performing the task as well as the collectivity that benefits from the task (Gramsci, 1971, p. 28). Participation in decisioning is, in and of itself, an educative process and contributes to the negation of the bourgeois consciousness and to the building of a collective

consciousness.

Acknowledging heterogenity and encouraging the full participation of all individuals and groups in a pluralist society, reinforces the hegemonic rule of the revolutionary leadership and reinforces the feelings of co-responsibility on the part of the populace. In this sense, political pluralism is compatible with socialism in that a public forum for different points of view is necessary for decisions to be made by the population. This forum also allows the views of the bourgeoisie to be publicly exposed so that the expression of conflicting interests raises the consciousness of the working class and promotes the class struggle. This ideological confrontation will effectively begin to eliminate the capitalist ideology. In this manner, `the masses', passive and alienated from power in a capitalist state become emancipated to be `the people', active and organized, in the transition to socialism. Therefore, participation and power should be viewed as the "process" of acting out a certain type of relationship, not as a state of being or `thing' (Marchetti, 1986, p. 305). This vision of a mobilized people is inherently a democratic vision.

One of the key problems in participation, lies in the nature of leadership in a democracy. How does the leadership not partake of manipulation yet preserve the gains of the revolution against the reassertion of bourgeois rule and the inevitable imperialist aggression? How does the leadership

act as the 'vanguard' without being elitist or tyrannical? What form does participation take with regards to who makes decisions, who implements, and who benefits from them; in other words, do the people merely inform and consult or do they have the power of deciding and controlling aspects of life that affect them? Participation itself can be a form of manipulation and should not be viewed as a panacea (Pigozzi, 1982). This then points to the integral relations between the state, the party, and the masses.

Bettelheim explains one Marxian conception of the relationship between the state and the masses where the masses of producers would be in power and no separation would exist between the state apparatus and the masses. The state apparatus would be subordinated to the proletarian party. This party helps the proletariat transform itself but the proletariat also creates its ideology and practices and uses the party as its instrument (Bettelheim, 1971, pp. 61-75). The role of the proletarian party would be to embody and project a proletarian ideology - the united will of the proletariat. Once these forces are established, then the revolution can incorporate all of the oppressed and exploited social classes so that the proletarian ideology is generalized.

Bettelheim claims that the force of the ideology has no relation to the numerical size of the proletariat but on the commitment to tear down all barriers between people and the means of production. The dictatorship of the proletariat

then is not a dictatorship in the perjorative sense that justifies repression (as Lenin asserts), but it is a 'leadership' based on democratic relations and ideological transformation. Carollee Bengelsdorf, writing on the theoretical legacy of the third world transition to socialism, indicates that according to Hal Draper's study of Marx's term 'dictatorship', the term 'rule' is closer to Marx's original meaning. She feels this description implies a flexibility, responsiveness, patience, and participation between the party, state, and masses in the building of new social relations and institutions.

This conception also proposes that the bourgeoisie state apparatus should not be appropriated in the form that it exists, in order to rule the bourgeoisie minority, as "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready made state machinery and wield it for their own purposes. The political instrument of their enslavement cannot serve as the political instrument of their emancipation" (Marx, Engels, 1940, p. 54). Democracy in this sense does not imply the parliamentarism of the bourgeois system but a fuller development of political participation that is anti-authoritarian and represents the de-institutionalization of political power. This would demystify the mystique of power so that all can participate and this would anticipate the decline of a formal class-state apparatus.

This leads to a new definition of "politics" that involves all human activities requiring decision making

(Cunningham, 1987, p. 53), rather than the decisions just in the public sphere. In this way, economics and politics are inseparable. The armed people would replace hired, permanent armies; a working government body would incorporate both legislative and executive functions; and constant electoral control by the masses over the government apparatus would prevail. These characterize some of the principles for the transition laid down by Marx (Marx, Engels, 1940, p. 57). No longer would the repressive and coercive powers be the sole property of the state, but they would be given over directly to the people. Similarly, elections can be part of an administrative process where voters are on an equal base in the production so that their participation is truly equal.

But Marx's writings are not specific about the intricacies of mediating class struggle while implementing democratic relations among all classes or of mediating the dissolution of the state apparatus while it is still required to negotiate interproletarian interests, as the proletariat is rarely of one, undivided will (Bengelsdorf, 1986, p. 209). The question, "whose interests are manifested in the state apparatus in Nicaragua"? is related to, "what are the new institutions for expression and the channels for articulation that the Nicaraguans have initially created to deal with these problems and to establish social relationships"?

Conscientization and Mobilization: The Origins of Nicaraguan Mass Organizations.

Nicaraguan mass organizations (also known as popular or grassroots organizations) were organized in pre-revolutionary Nicaragua during the revolutionary thrust. The FSLN painstakingly worked to organize groups of people despite a very unpoliticized and fragmented population, severe repression, personal privation, and tacit peasant support for Somozo. George Black describes some of the aspects of this process that existed in the countryside,

> After the mid-1960's, no recruit entered the FSLN without a commitment to live as the campesinos did, sharing all their privations and so gaining their confidence. For most of the guerrilleros, urban middle-class youth, it meant abandoning the class of their birth, with no turning back. Support from the campesinos came in a slow chain-reaction. In each new village or hamlet, a single slowly built friendship brought the sympathy of an entire family; every political contact brought three or four more. Gradually, the network of support swelled, an infinitely patient and arduous process guided by every combatant's belief in ultimate victory. The guerillas [sic] came and went, getting to know the lie of the land, establishing arms caches, teaching the peasants a political understanding of their situation. Recruitment of peasants became easier. Many of the peasants captured by the National Guard admitted to cooperating with the Frente because the guerrillas had taught them to sow their crops better, taught them to read and write, given them medicine or clothing. And National Guard repression in turn only increased peasant sympathy for the muchachos (Black, 1981, pp. 79-80).

The FSLN organization of the peasants for armed struggle coincided and eventually linked with the grassroots organizing of the Agrarian Promotion and Educational Center (CEPA) and the Delegates of the Word, both religious groups committed to deepening a social consciousness stimulated by biblical reflection. The militant politicization of these

groups resulted in organized committees demanding better wages, working conditions, and housing from the government. Out of this rising level of activity came the ATC (Rural Workers Association) and AMPRONAC (Association of Women Confronting the National Problem). As these organizations gained political consciousness, the FSLN contact gave form, leadership, and direction to their growing anti-Somoza feelings. The urban work of the FSLN proceeded slowly at first, given anti-union pressures, opposition of the socialist and communist parties, and a small industrial proletariat. As radical workplace committees appeared, the FSLN began political organizing and military recruiting to help remold the 'workers' movement into what became one of the forces in the overthrow (Ruchwarger, 1987, pp. 44-45).

Simultaneously, peasant women were being severely abused as they flooded into the cities in search of work to support their families who had been evicted from their land. Human rights abuses by the National Guard, a rising death toll from inhumane living conditions, and middle class outrage at Somoza's profiteering and repression coalesced to become the women's organization, AMPRONAC. They resisted repression through rallies, boycotts, and material support for the revolutionary movement.

The earliest mobilization began with students in 1959 from which came many of the FSLN leaders. Many student organizations chose to link up with the FSLN as the only honest, viable leadership alternative. They became the core

of FSLN influence as it expanded among Nicaraguan students and as it increased its political work in rural areas and, subsequently, in urban barrios. The culmination of this organizing led to the Civil Defense Committees (CDCs) that were responsible for defending the people against the National Guard, accumulating resources for fighting the dictatorship, and establishing a new political and social structure in the neighbourhoods.

As skills in mobilizing, self-organizing, and in street fighting grew the people spontaneously responded to the FSLN's bold military actions. This often left the FSLN racing to gain a foothold in these areas to guide and direct the action toward the overall insurrection. In many cases, the FSLN capacity for organizing and providing material support was severely overtaxed despite their self-professed reliance on popular participation for the insurrection. Humberto Ortega reflects,

> The truth is that we always took the masses into account, but more in terms of their supporting the guerrillas, so that the guerrillas as such could defeat the National Guard. This isn't what actually happened. What happened was that it was the guerrillas who provided support for the masses so that they could defeat the enemy by means of insurrection (Ortega, H., 1980, p. 58).

In this respect, the people appropriated the revolutionary action and often acted autonomously from the FSLN. As both Rousseau and Mill asserted, the more people participate the better they are able to do so (Ruchwarger, 1987, p. 136).

This brief description of the dynamism between the FSLN and the people indicates the combined effort in the

overthrow and the interdependence between the various mass organizations and the FSLN. The insurrection was not led by a vanguard party, or the peasants, or the workers, or the students, or the women; it was a popular unity of these sectors, that partly had a class base but, who were all victims of oppression. The political education offered by the FSLN, the popular church, and student organizations provided a way to articulate the pain, or as Michael Kaufman terms it, the "breaks and contradictions within the realms of ideology and lived reality, between expectations/aspirations and one's life experience" (Kaufman, 1985, p. 224). Mobilization emanated from expressing the pain and that focussed on all aspects of the society. Participation in resistance simultaneously solidified the politicization of society and polarized those of the status quo from those desiring social change. Revolutionary praxis combined both the skill training, experience, and provided opportunities for elevating popular understanding of the revolutionary experience.

The FSLN's role was to ensure that the process of mobilization continued to gain momentum and that they openly projected themselves as being able to benefit from this rising tide. Michael Kaufman succinctly explains this relationship between mobilization and conscientization,

> ...radical shifts in consciousness are both the result and the stimulant of popular mobilization. One of the tremendous things about a process of mobilization and social radicalization is that it is the one time in human societies where broad groups and classes simultaneously reevaluate the

> world in which they live and, by fits and starts, seek to reshape it. Petty individual interests get lost in the needs of the many. Real individual needs get found within the struggle for the interests of the whole. And because the society which created and constantly nurtures an individual's psychology and motivations is unhinged, the psychology of "normalcy" and adjustment to an inhuman reality also gets unhinged. The individual and collective power normally lost by the oppressed and the exploited is rediscovered and reasserted on the social and individual levels (Kaufman, 1987, p. 230).

Mass Organizations After the Defeat.

The crucial criterion of democratic participation is the development of the revolutionary subject, that is the people themselves. Despite the revolutionary action, the people are both the retainers of the old consciousness and the momentum of the new consciousness and this contradiction continues to characterize their struggle for participation. Yet this multiplicity of identities would be alienated and subordinated if they were not given public expression, discussed, subject to encouragement and criticism, and given social power to implement their ideas. The main vehicle for these expressions are the mass organizations.

On the basis of their origins, mass organizations can be defined as collective associations that represent the fundamental interests of a particular social or demographic sector of society (Ruchwarger, 1987, p. 5). The five main mass organizations that have developed represent the workers, rural labourers, women, and the neighbourhood defense committees (CDSs), although hundreds of important but smaller organizations exist and corporately involve over

fifty per cent of the population. Every individual has the opportunity to directly participate in every possible aspect of collective life through these organizations.

Since the revolution, the strength of the mass organizations initially grew very rapidly in numbers as well as in national presence. They consolidated their organizational structures and penetrated most of the regions and sectors of the country. These structures were predominately four-tiered consisting of base (barrio), municipal, departmental, and national levels and they substantially contributed to national development by planning and implementation for a variety of national projects including the literacy and malaria campaigns as well as neighbourhood reconstruction, and defense. After the initial enthusiasm with participation, there were abuses of power within the mass organizations such as authoritarian leadership, opportunism, personality conflicts, competition among the mass organizations for members, and so on, but the struggle against political apathy and individualistic attitudes stubbornly continued (Ruchwarger, 1987, p. 93). These organizations consciously strive to democratically select their leaders, through election by a majority vote, and to involve all levels of the organization in the decision making regarding setting priorities, assigning tasks, and implementing these tasks. But, most important these popular organizations are the harbingers of the new social relations.

These organizations are the 'schools of democracy' by attempting to follow the six principles of: democratic centralism, where all members freely discuss and make decisions but the administration and executive functions are centralized; collective leadership, where a collegial, nonhierarchical model of leadership is followed (to avoid a "cult of personality"); representativeness, where mass organization representatives are accountable through periodic evaluations and immediate recall; criticism and self-criticism, where problems are resolved rapidly, publicly, and constructively; division of labour, where tasks are divided by category and delegated to those with the most appropriate skills; and planning of labour, where the organization's activities are prioritized, resources are allocated, and time schedules are set (Ruchwarger, 1987, p. 117). They have also sought to implement free-flowing communication channels from: a. bottom to top, between the grassroots who express their desires, criticisms, and suggestions to leaders in the mass organizations, the FSLN party, and government; b. top to bottom, between the leadership which submits its proposals and directives to the grassroots; and c. lateral, where the mass organizations attempt to coordinate and maximize their activities and avoid duplication among themselves (Ruchwarger, 1987, p. 117).

Mass organizations attempt to organize and mobilize people at all levels of their life, from block and

neighbourhoods to place and location of work, and they actively have sought to avoid authoritarian procedures for leadership selection, such as appointments instead of democratic selection procedures. Most of these working principles were actually adopted voluntarily from the model of FSLN organization and the example of state decentralization. As the level of articulateness and self-confidence of the membership varies thus blocking participation, the mass organizations are also responsible for providing political, technical, and basic education for their members.

Finally, various practices have been initiated to try to ensure the political equality of the full membership and equality of opportunity to participate, despite variances of ideologies and party membership that could potentially undermine common interests. Luis Serra states,

> It would be wrong to project an idyllic image of the mass organizations since...true revolutions...are full of contradictions. They draw their sustenance from them, they live on them. It would be strange if a people, accustomed to exploitation and marginalization...could develop a political system of full democratic participation in one short year...the 19th of July, was only one victorious battle in the ongoing war for the liberation of the Nicaraguan people. How could the enormous weight of behaviour, attitudes, and values nourished by the old social system be thrown off overnight?...old ideological legacies have much more weight than revolutionary theory supposes (Serra, 1980, p. 102).

Popular participation, then, in the new Nicaragua is the forging of new power relations founded on democratic principles, previously unknown to the majority of the

people. The transformation of the people to be autonomous, organized, self-regulating, and respecting of heterogenity for the mutual interest of the community is occurring through democratic practices at every working level of society. The 'political' as part of the superstructure is not relegated to a specific sphere of life but is the form of expression for all other spheres and thus, no separation in the conception between the base and superstructure will eventually exist. Sergio Ramirez puts it best,

> For us, the efficiency of a political model depends on its capacity to resolve the problems of democracy and justice. Effective democracy, like we intend to practice in Nicaragua, consists of ample popular participation; a permanent dynamic of the people's participation in a variety of political and social tasks; the people who give their opinions and are listened to; the people who suggest, construct and direct, organize themselves, who attend to community, neighbourhood and national problems; a people who are active in the sovereignty and the defense of that sovereignty and also teach and give vaccinations; a daily democracy and not one that takes place every four years....For us democracy is not merely a formal model, but a continual process capable of giving the people that elect and participate in it the real possibility of transforming their living conditions, a democracy which establishes justice and ends exploitation (Ramirez, 1983, p. 14).

However, the temptation is for a revolutionary government to forge unity between the party, state, and, in Nicaragua's case, the mass organizations. Although history will tell, a brief attempt will be made to assess whether or not the mass organizations are manipulated or whether they have autonomy to criticize the state and the party, and how much participation they have in the formation and implementation of policy.

The Party and Mass Organizations.

Generally, the pro-Sandinista mass organizations are financially and organizationally independent of the FSLN, although these members also provide the party with the majority of its support and leaders. The party provides much of the political and ideological advice to the mass organizations and it is considered the vanguard of the revolution by the mass organizations (Ruchwarger, 1987, p. 137). Officially, the FSLN party competes for support on a lateral level with all other popular organizations even though some of these organizations were created with the assistance of the FSLN. As the mass organizations developed, the FSLN had no clear idea of the role or potential power that would develop in these organizations. They sought to avoid imposing a blueprint on their development but even if the FSLN had wanted to control these operations, the deaths of many of the politically experienced organizers resulted in a shortage of persons available to serve as cadres. In an interview, one young Sandinista leader explained,

> We in the FSLN do not see ourselves as the final repository of revolutionary ideas. That would be dogmatic, and we do everything possible to avoid dogmatism or the rigid application of any political theory in our vision of future political power. That principle has guided the FSLN throughout its history as an organisation. We look to the masses constantly to enrich our vision, and when we talk of the CDSs as the "embyros" of popular power, it is because we have no preconceived idea of what that power will look like. The CDSs are the best current example we have, because they involve the whole people and function in a highly democratic way which guarantees a continuous dynamic interplay between the vanguard and the masses and avoids the risk

bureaucratisation (Black, 1980, p. 200).

Jaime Wheelock, in an interview, also claims, "The organized people must prepare themselves to run the state, through all the channels which the Revolution is creating" (Black, 1980, p. 231).

The complex dual role of discerning when leadership and when autonomy are necessary, enables the Sandinistas to enrich their policies and tactics but where their concern for overall national unity conditions their pursuit of policies that will benefit the majority. The FSLN party pursues patient, detailed explanations of their suggested policy measures and does not move ahead without consultation, despite the sometimes slower development of the peoples' consciousness. These moments were considered educable moments to intensify the understanding of the people and encourage their power to critique the party. Agustin Lara, a FSLN regional political secretary, explains,

> The FSLN has the conception that the role of the masses in the revolutionry process is something fundamental; it is not an accessory nor something secondary. The masses themselves have demonstrated that they themselves are the principal agent in revolutionary transformations; they are the active and conscious agents of the revolution. As a political organization we relate ourselves to them (Ruchwarger, 1987, p. 139).

The autonomy of the people shown in the revolutionary war now characterizes these mass organizations. This is not contradictory with their overwhelming support for the Sandinista government. The popular organizations serve a dual role of interpreting the FSLN policies and carrying out

FSLN tasks and also as the sentinel monitoring the activities of the FSLN. The prestige gained by the Sandinistas for their leadership during the revolution does not preclude their need to gain the respect and support of the people daily (Ruchwarger, 1987, pp. 140-141) and so the FSLN ensures that all policies and tasks are discussed thoroughly with the mass organization before a formal, written request is submitted for a specific service or task to be carried out.

The grassroots organizations often will oppose Sandinista policy and will work cooperatively to seek changes. Conflict and abuses of power both ways are negotiated by rigourous consultation. Hence, the relationship between the party and the mass organizations is a lateral relation.

The State and Mass Organizations.

A similar duality of roles exists between the mass organizations and the state. The state itself represents many political opposition parties and the National Assembly is the forum for representatives from these other parties. The recently won right for mass organizations to participate in the National Assembly is significant as evidence that the popular working masses are a major force in national development. This forum for a variety of voices breaks the unity between the state and party.

The task of reconstruction faced many administrative, economic, and ideological blocks. Due to the lack of a state

apparatus to carry out the initial rebuilding and provision of supplies, the mass organizations often performed these tasks, particularly the CDSs. When a conflict arises, often the mass organization will find itself supported by the party in an attempt to influence the state. The party continually calls on the mass organizations to demand flexibility, receptiveness, and dynamism from the state (Ruchwarger, 1987, p. 152).

The limiting of state bureaucratization has been attempted by establishing decentralized state bodies that maintain contact with other bodies regionally to solve local problems and ensure the successful implementation of various state programs. Yet scarcity, poor training, and persistent bureaucracy pose severe restraints on the functioning of the state and its ability to meet local demands, especially in distributing basic farm supplies and consumer goods.

One last issue to be discussed here deals with the question of class struggle. Criticisms of the FSLN have been levelled from various viewpoints. One of these suggest that the maintenance of private property and the private ownership of the means of production are being ensured at the expense of the peasantry and the workers and that this will simply establish Somocismo without Somoza; or that the nationalization of trade and some production areas will emasculate the participation of the bourgeoisie class, stall the development of the nation, and lead to a totalitarian state. José Coraggio explains the intent of the Sandinistas,

> "The Sandinista project involves setting up a system of relations (identities) within which the private ownership of the means of production may be regulated by the profit motive in terms of particular decisions, while at the same time, when taken globally, remains subordinate to the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people and to the maintenance of popular sovereignty. In this context, the process of accumulation is regarded as a means rather than as an end (Coraggio, 1985, p. 76).

Due to the expediency required to meet dire national production needs and the current strength of national hegemony, capital exists but it has been subordinated to the state and to national needs. It may be considered a compromise to the bourgeoisie but may actually be the "very condition for the survival of the revolution in its confrontation with imperialism (Lowy, 1986, p. 208) and will result in long term gain in forging new social relations through collective decisioning regarding the future of this sector.

One arena of class struggle with the bourgeoisie will be the National Assembly where all national representatives are present and where the majority, particularly individuals in the newly class-conscious mass organizations, will have the opportunity to express their interests along with the reactionary sectors. One representative comments, "the Council of State would give us the chance to confront the exploiting classes face to face: the bourgeoisie, the gentlemen of COSEP [the Higher Council of Private Enterprise]" (Black, 1980, p. 249). Thus, by channelling class interests and dissent through the state, it avoids

violence and uses what was previously the tool of the bourgeoisie to work for popular working class interests. The bourgeoisie interests will be exposed and examined publicly through dialogue and accountability. The debate is vigourous but, interestingly, the voting rarely falls along party or class lines (Reding, 1985, pp. 340-349). It is not clear how and when the final struggle will occur between these opposing interests, how long the bourgeoisie will be involved in this discourse, and if a major destabilization will occur. However, this strategy of inter-party (or multi-organizational contestation) rather than intraparty competition is historically unusual (Fagen, 1986, p. 261). The risk is heightened though, for the need of the state to reassume its typical liberal duties and drain the dynamism from the party and mass organization.

Problems of Participatory Democracy

One major source of conflict is often the dual membership of some individuals in both the party and a mass organization. The recruitment of experienced people from the mass organizations for the party, and the voting of these persons as members of both organizations could lead to a conflict of interest and eventually to a merging of interests between the party and mass organizations. This problem is still being negotiated but could compromise the overall process of autonomy.

Similarly, the spontaneous actions of the people prior to the revolution, notably land takeovers, were carried over

into the post-revolutionary period and only dialogue, political education, and the eventual willingness of the party to heed ATC demands alleviated a serious crisis. This crisis illustrates the insistence of mass organizations that the state be responsive to their demands and the reluctance of the state to impose their will on the people. It also underlines the typical FSLN state response to most problems, which has been to provide political education.

A third source of conflict has been the contradictions faced in integrating all sectors into the project of national unity and defense at the expense of the autonomy and self-determination of several sectors, notably the Miskitu Indians on the east coast and women's emancipation, against the full rights in the military (Fagen, 1986, p. 259; Ruchwarger, 1987, p. 144). These conflicts originally have incurred an authoritarian and insensitive response from the state, but a more respectful dialogue is now occurring with respect to these two groups, again illustrating the growth in the leadership role of the FSLN and their recognition of the need for legitimation.

A fourth problem is the relative lack of internal democracy in the party structure. This model of an inner circle of decision making can easily extend throughout the society and can jeopardize the overall process of democratization. Similarly, the open debate in mass organizations followed by executive decision making, should it be continued in the long term, will prevent a thorough

democratization of the population by relegating them to a consultative rather than a decisioning role.

A fifth problem concerns economic planning. While rationale planning is necessary to replace a market apparatus, centralized state planning easily results in bureaucratization. Democratization of planning can be achieved by openly discussing national priorities and objectives in all national forums. Various proposals should emanate from bodies other than the state. The party's role should be to facilitate these discussions and keep the historic role before the masses. The tasks of planning and implementing should also be democratized by delegating these tasks to various bodies other than just the state.

Conclusion

Despite these problems, it is the relationships between the state, party, and masses particularly that reveals the potential of this revolution. If the bureaucratization and permanent institutionalization of the state is to be avoided, it is the sustained dynamism and autonomy of the mass organizations that will enhance the democratic transition to socialism. Their initial assumption of many state duties represents the de-institutionalization of political power and if these tasks are assumed back by the state, an opportunity will have been missed that would actually enable the local organizations, among themselves, to meet their own needs without the intermediation of the state. As the nation works to materially equalize conditions

among the population, the role of the state in a socialist society as a central mediating body will eventually be unnecessary as its duties can be carried out by the party and various people's organizations under community management and control. Not only will this decentralization of planning and implementation decrease bureaucratization, technocratic solutions, and command models but it will authentically be the people preparing themselves to run the nation through their own institutions. The only barrier to this evolution will be the entrenchment of all the duties of state that presently exists in capitalist societies, and the development of a political elite with special privileges that is socially separated from the masses (Lowy, 1986, p. 277). The role of the state at this time should only be to create the space necessary for this self management of production, defense, expression, and representation. It is this democratization of the daily life of people that constitutes the new social relations and the channels instituted to ensure the continuity of this force. The success of reaching this vision will directly hinge on the ideological reformation of the people as they concretely struggle to participate in the channels becoming available to them and in open ideological confrontation.

It is the role of the party, in particular, to feel the elementary passions of the people/nation, to understand them, to explain them given the historical conjuncture, to connect them to an scientifically elaborated view of the

world, and to feed these understandings back to the masses for their affirmation. This is Gramsci's description of an organic intellectual that can be considered the description of an organic leadership (Gramsci, 1971, p. 418).

In conclusion, the question is whether or not Nicaragua is in the transition to socialism. This author contends that Nicaragua is not in the transition to socialism, but not for the same reasons as previous authors have given. Nicaragua is developing the democratic foundations for the transition to socialism that precede a national discussion on whether socialism is the choice of the people and determining the strategies for achieving a socialist democracy. Presently, they are building a revolutionary class consciousness through revolutionary action that will contribute to building new social relations between individuals, between the masses and state, and between the party and masses to make such a choice possible. However, when the time comes for such a choice, it may already be unnecessary.

Based on this analysis of the Nicaraguan revolution, what is the role of education in Nicaraguan society? The concept of education needs to undergo a significant transformation to be consistent with the nature of the new society and the democratic transition to socialism. This issue will be addressed next.

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CHAPTER IV

Democracy and Adult Education in a Transitional Society

Given the poverty of theories addressing the role of adult education in a transitional society, the task of this chapter will be to summarize the major strategies in adult education after the revolution, describe the political rationale for these strategies, and offer an assessment of them in the context of revolutionary transformation. This observation of one aspect of the revolutionary society will provide the basis for offering conclusions regarding the relation between adult education, democracy, and an eventual transition to socialism.

Revolutionary Adult Education

Since pre-revolutionary education had been urban, elitist, and classist (Walker, 1985, p. 8), designed for domination; and insurrectionary education had been primarily rural, democratic and popular, designed for resistance, then post-revolutionary education needs to be concerned with helping with the overall transformation goals. But the prerequisite for effective national reconstruction necessitated at minimum, literacy and successively, basic education. This also helped to legitimate the FSLN by demonstrating their commitment to the needs of the participants who helped carry out the revolution.

The Literacy Campaign.

Two weeks after the victory, the national coordinators for the Literacy Crusade were assembled. The goals for this campaign were not only to eradicate illiteracy, but to (i) increase the skills related to creativity, production, cooperation, discipline, and analytic thinking; (ii) to enhance the political consciousness of the population; (iii) to integrate the mass organizations so that they could more effectively assist with rationalizing national production; (iv) to have the rural and urban, the young and old, poor and middle class, share each other's class experiences and lifestyles to encourage integration and understanding; (v) to increase the population's commitment to the potential for the revolution; (vi) strengthen economic and political channels for their participation in society; (vii) to support national cohesion and consensus; and (viii) to release their cultural expressions (Cardenal, Miller, 1981, p. 5). As one writer observed:

> The FSLN called literacy an apprenticeship in life because in the process the literate person learns his\her intrinsic value as a person, as a maker of history, as an actor of an important social role, as an individual with rights to demand and duties to fulfill (Cardenal, Miller, 1981, pp. 8-9).

This task of creating a new individual within a new society perceived literacy as far more than a mechanical skill. Literacy was to be a process of liberation. Carried out as a second national mobilization, this 'Second War of Liberation' was considered the sequel to the armed uprising (Arnove, 1986, p. 17). As Tunnerman noted:

> The goal was to liberate people to be full human beings, conscious people empowered to build their own future. Without a conscious, committed people, there could be no Revolution. The attainment of literacy was not simply the gaining of an academic skill, but the empowerment of a people who became aware of their reality and gained the tools, reading and writing, to affect and determine their future. The Literacy Crusade was not a pedagogical undertaking without political effects, it was a political undertaking with pedagogical effects. It was a political mobilization with political goals (Tunnerman, 1985, p. 67).

The pedagogical method for the Literacy Campaign was derived from the experiences of popular education during the revolution, the study of similar mobilizations in China, Cuba, Tanzania, and Guinea Bissau, as well as the ideas and practice of Paulo Freire. Freire challenged Nicaraguan planners to create the best learning program possible by stressing the ability of learners to utilize their creativity while becoming literate and incorporating the revolutionary context into the materials. He provocatively questioned the balance between domestication through prepared texts and liberation through dialogue (West, manuscript, p. 12; Arnove, 1986, p. 23).

The key intent was for people to be able to reflect on their immediate situation; the meaning of their illiteracy and their desperate living conditions. They were to discern the relationships between them and their world through this process of social analysis rather than passively digesting or banking the knowledge of the teacher. As they gained literacy skills and confidence, they would be able to actively express themselves in decision making processes in

other areas of national life, particularly the mass organizations. To this end, dialogue was intended to form an integral part of the participatory model that would characterize many of the popular education programs.

Although dialogue was central to the literacy process, it was not always successful due to teacher inexperience, confusion over its role, and frustration at reticent peasants (Hirshon, 1983, p. 104). Despite these intentions, the campaign was predominately teacher-directed and it encompassed a mechanical approach to literacy instruction that was most familiar for the participants, primarily the teachers (Arnove, 1986, p. 25; Torres, R.M., 1985). Nevertheless, the success in improving literacy was phenomenal; illiteracy was reduced from 50.35 per cent to 12.9 per cent in six months.

The most remarkable achievement of the literacy campaign had to be the personal aspect of town meeting country and middle class meeting lower class. By experiencing the dire and degrading poverty of their fellow citizens, the young literacy brigiadistas gained a mutual respect for the tenacity, intelligence, and abilities of the campesinos. This profound experience deepened their commitment to the revolution, whose goals were no longer abstract concepts. For many young people and their parents who visited them, it was their "point of entry into the revolution, the first step toward developing their revolutionary consciousness" (Arnove, 1986, p. 18). Many of

the young teachers literally threw themselves into harvest and reconstruction activities, such as building latrines and roads, picking coffee, sowing crops, recording statistical and descriptive detail of the environment for national research purposes, distributing malaria pills, and teaching health care. This political impact of involving oneself in the lived reality of another and the attendant activities of community improvement changed many young lives, as attested to by the diaries of many brigadistas. Vilma Perez-Valle writes as follows of her and her companions' experience,

> It was so striking, the contrast between the exuberant jungle outside, and the conditions inside that tiny house, lit by one candle. Everything was silent as we looked at each other. One after another, we began to cry. We were so sad to see with our own eyes the poverty of our people (Gilbert, 1980/81, p. 14).

This aspect of the campaign also was a major contribution to breaking down the class and ethnic barriers and encouraging the physical, emotional, and intellectual commitment of many citizens to the interests of the popular working class. The crusade sought to draw the ideological lines clearly, as the FSLN was well aware of the vulnerabilitiy of the peasants to ideological attack. Humberto Ortega emphasized this to the People's Literacy Army, when he said to them:

> It is the duty of you young Sandinista guerillas to prevent our peasants who live out there where no news reaches them, from being confused by the reactionary bourgeoisie and the counter-revolution...You are the main thread which binds us to those peasants. It is the responsibility of each one of you to ensure that every campesino remains a Sandinista...because it is out there

> that the counter-revolution moves, the mummies, the clapped-out Conservatives and oligarchs, with their talk of farcical elections (Black, 1981, p. 311).

The literacy campaign also served to strengthen the organizing, mobilizing, and political power of the mass organizations. The literacy campaign was instrumental in helping to organize people into unions, community organizations, and cooperatives.

> We [the brigadistas] brought organization and more services. The campesinos had organized to receive us and part of our work was to help those first committees expand into community organizations, farmworker's associations, women's groups and the people's militias. Or, as the members of these groups now like to say, it was during the literacy crusade they "put in the batteries" and got going (Truemann, 1981, p. 295).

The mass organizations were the backbone of the literacy mobilization movement, particularly the Sandinista Youth (JS19J), the teacher's union (ANDEN), the rural workers' union (ATC), the Sandinista Worker's Federation (CST), the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), and the Nicaraguan women's association (AMNLAE). Each of these organizations were tasked with preparatory and implementation roles and without their commitment, the unprecedented success could not have been achieved. The sheer logistical task of transporting and protecting 80,000 teenage teachers throughout a rugged, mountainous country with only basic communication and transportation systems was largely the responsibility of these organizations. The result was a substantial decentralization and delegation of administration tasks that enhanced the vigour of mass

organizations and emerging local government entities (Arnove, 1986, pp. 32-38).

The literacy campaign was considered by the FSLN as the pinnacle of the popular education process that embodied the new revolutionary ideology of mobilization. "The Literacy Crusade served as a huge laboratory in which the principles and practices of popular education could be shaped, tested and fine-tuned (Atilia, 1985, p. 11).

National Education Consultation.

Some of these elements anticipated the 1981 National Education Consultation which produced the document "Ends and Objectives of the New Education in Nicaragua." With the input of some 50,000 people and 30 organizations representing wide sectors of the nation, the philosophical basis for the New Education was delineated. Carlos Tunnerman, then Minister of Education, saw that the primary educational task was the forming of a "New Man"[sic] and stated that above all, it must be critical and liberational (Tunnerman, 1983). As he put it:

> The Educational System is part of the Revolution; its development, its normal functioning and the achievement of its goals are closely tied to the extent and rhythm of the revolutionary process, as a totality of integrated actions. The Revolution itself...is one great pedagogical action. For us as educators, the responsibility, both short- and long-term, is to form a new type of person, what is commonly now called "The New Man"[sic], which many believe should have come about immediately after the downfall of the dictatorship. But the true revolutionary, especially if he [sic] is an educator, knows that this cannot be, but rather that the New Man [sic] will emerge as the product of lengthy efforts and of a systematic and careful education (Tunnerman, 1983).

One result was consultations about, and eventually a description of, a 'new' person. The qualities of this new person would be: (i) in the political sphere - patriotic, revolutionary, solidary, committed to the interests of the workers and campesinos, against all forms of exploitation and oppression, and promoting national unity between the working classes; and (ii) in the social and moral sphere - responsible, disciplined, creative, cooperative, critical and self-critical, understanding that individual interests should coincide with social and national interests in a spirit of sacrifice (Ministry of Education [MED], 1984, chapter 1).

The characteristics of the educational process that would correspond to this task were considered to be an education that is (i) insurrectional and mobilizational, (ii) participatory not hierarchical, (iii) popular, (iv) democratic, (v) integral, in that it attends to the whole persons' needs (physical, intellectual, spiritual, affective, aesthetic, and moral), (vi) permanent and on-going for each person, (vii) associated with work, values manual labour, (viii) scientific in that it is opposed to all that is obscurantist, dogmatic, magical, mythical, and superstitious, (ix) humanist in that the person is both the subject and object of education; and (x) liberational to form free, responsible, critical Nicaraguans -- persons who are their own masters and solidary with the collective destiny (MED, 1984, chapter 1).

Tunnerman's "systematic and careful education" with its arduous and comprehensive goals predicated a pedagogical struggle between the proponents of a technicist education and proponents of a popular, political-ideological education. But the question which arises is "What methodology and organizational structure could best implement these educational goals?" The debate surfaced as the tension between "higher productivity through excellence" or "higher productivity through greater equality" and, as Martin Carnoy and Carlos Alberto Torres noted, this struggle was part of the larger struggle of accumulating capital either under increasingly democratized or hierarchical social relations (Carnoy, Torres, manuscript, p. 23).

On one hand, technical education is often more expensive, traditional, authoritarian, and faces a severe shortage of teachers and resources. Although it fails to meet the social transformation goals of greater democratization in social relations and often incorporates only the young people of middle class origin, greater productivity could be achieved more quickly by training highly skilled technicians and administrators. There were initial moves by the Ministry of Education, under Carlos Tunnerman, to modernize and expand traditional education in this manner in order to meet national production needs.

On the other hand, the mass organizations were most concerned about continuing the revolutionary pedagogy of political action by the popular masses, skill training for

participation, ideological development to build revolutionary hegemony, and the mass experience of a democratic process (Carnoy, Torres, manuscript, p. 39). Consonant with this, popular adult education was considered more appropriate to local needs as it is more informal, nonstructured, utilizing more innovative curricula and methods, responsive to local community needs and resources, and inexpensive with volunteer teachers. Yet, the Ministry of Education also considered that it is uncertifiable, taxes the abilities of unprofessional teachers, and usually concentrates only on literacy and primary education for those most oppressed in the previous regime (Carnoy, Torres, manuscript, pp. 23, 31). This would jeopardize the development of technically skilled persons able to contribute to increased production.

In total, Torres and Carnoy identified three subsystems of education: the public formal, public popular, and the public-subsidized private. The atmosphere between the two public systems is one of competitiveness between their respective strategies for meeting national goals. However these authors indicate that, given Fernando Cardenal's appointment to Minister of Education, favour has been given to the popular system (Carnoy, Torres, manuscript, p. 38).

In sum, the struggle was between the centralized decision making power of the educational bureaucracy and the decentralized decision making power of the mass organizations. Torres and Carnoy conclude, "In a sense,

then, both parts of the system met stated revolutionary goals: the formal was felt to be more geared to human capital formation for traditional capital accumulation, and the non-formal to meet more direct political needs...both had to be sustained but were also in conflict" (Carnoy, Torres, manuscript, p. 40).

Another struggle in education falls along class lines. Vilas refers to this struggle as the antagonism between the revolution and the counter-revolution manifested in education. As the mass organizations and their programs, such as popular adult education, were strengthened, it became evident to the bourgeois class that their interests were being subordinated. Hence, they have vigorously tried to oppose the New Education, primarily through private, Church - controlled channels. They have promoted the policy that they, as parents and Christians, should have ultimate control over education. They have presented the New Education as totalitarian and atheist; an education that seeks to undermine parental and Church authority over their children and implement communist teachings for all ages (Vilas, 1986, p. 222). Vilas wryly comments, "Even in Central America, one seldom finds a bourgeoisie like Nicaragua's, one which at the end of the twentieth century must still be shown that universal, secular, and free education is not a communist stunt" (Vilas, 1986, p. 223).

The traditional Church, too, has augmented this furor by claiming that education can and should be apolitical and

they have attempted to influence parents to send the children to their private schools, which ironically are publicly subsidized. These schools exert ideological opposition to the Sandinistas and accuse the government of religious intolerance. In response, Vilas succinctly challenges the assumptions of these two allied groups.

> The New Education does not introduce "politics" where before there were none, but replaces one perspective, that of an unjust, repressive political order, with another, that of a popular and anti-imperialist order. A distinctive feature of the Nicaraguan New Education is its political explicitness, in contrast to bourgeois education that sells its product without advertising it (Vilas, 1986, p. 225).

These debates are the manifestations of class struggle in education.

Rationale for Adult Education.

How do the Nicaraguans themselves define the concept of popular education and describe its political rationale? Roberto Saenz, Executive Assistant of the Vice Ministry of Adult Education in Nicaragua, explains their orientation at length.

> We are not trying to transfer to Nicaragua some of the various definitions of popular education which have emerged in other parts of Latin America, reducing our experience to a mere copy of these concepts. Nor are we trying to mechanically reproduce in Nicaragua experiences developed in other historical contexts. Popular education is not an abstract concept, but a theoretical category which has emerged from practical experiences that have given it its own meaning. Revolutionary Nicaragua has challenged us to redefine in practice the contents, meaning and characteristics of popular education. Starting from the experience gained during the National Literacy Crusade (CNA), a series of principles were worked out, which provide orientation for the

> methodology and contents of Basic Popular Adult Education. These principles also serve as the basis of our pedagogy (Saenz, 1982, p. 21).

Saenz insists that education is integral to all of societal life not a partially independent sphere or program. "The theory of education is the theory of revolution. We are not dealing with two different processes, but with a single process with multiple dimensions, possessing a unique theory and dynamic" (Saenz, 1982, p. 21). For Nicaraguans, the concept of Revolution encompasses all of societal life, in which no aspect is separated or hidden from the transformation process.

The intention of the Nicaraguans was to install a permanent and systematized program of adult education. Saenz describes the philosophical and methodological principles of the New Education as promoting the growth of a new person and a new society through a dialectical process of perceiving reality, of theorizing upon it, and transforming it (Saenz, 1982, p. 22). Similarly, Sergio Ramirez outlines the methodology of popular education in a teacher training document produced by the Vice-Ministry of Adult Education. First, he asserts that "popular education - that is, a revolutionary education by the people for the people - can only be carried out within the Revolution, based on the Revolution, and for the Revolution" (MED, 1981, p. 2). Second, he indicates that popular education is by nature classist as people learn to act according to their class interests. In this case, he specifies the "popular classes."

For instance, "it is not just by saying, 'I identify with the working class' that this mission is carried out, but rather identifying one's interests with those of the working class presupposes a whole personal transformation, a whole change in outlook, and a whole renewal of the person" (Vallecillo, 1983, p. 3). Third, it is a process whereby all teach and all learn. Fourth, popular education starts with the everyday experiences of real life and real life never becomes separated from teaching and learning. Fifth, popular education can happen anywhere, whenever a situation or issue is analyzed collectively. Sixth and finally, popular education is essential for strengthening popular democracy through strengthening the mass organizations. As the National Directorate of the FSLN capsulate, "democracy, for a revolutionary, for a Sandinista, means participation of the people in all matters - political, economic, social, cultural... In summary, democracy is the active involvement of the people in all aspects of social life" (MED, 1981, p. 5). Given this understanding of popular education, the organization and operation of popular adult education programs has assumed many forms.

People's Education Collectives.

To prevent the lapse of the newly literate back into illiteracy, one task of the brigadistas was the organization of the People's Education Collectives (CEPs) for popular adult education under the auspices of various mass organizations. This program occurred outside of regular

working hours and was designed to improve the literacy skills, provide basic science and math skills, and facilitate ideological critical thinking. The CEPs continued to use the pedagogical exemplar of the Literacy Campaign by trying to focus on dialogue and building on existent skills and popular knowledge. The Literacy Crusade was considered the first stage of an adult education program consisting of three basic stages.

The second task was embodied in the Maintenance Program designed as a transition stage that would prevent a deterioration in the literacy skills already gained and would complete the training for those whose who had not finished or begun their programs in the time period of the actual crusade. This also consolidated the organization of the CEPs and initiated the strategy of using popular teachers, called coordinators, and popular promoters to supervise, advise, and encourage the coordinators. These coordinators were usually newly literate persons still continuing their own education (teacher-learners) who volunteered and were chosen for the task of teaching classes of seven to twelve students. The popular promoters were persons with more advanced studies and political organizing experience, such as teachers and functionaries of mass organizations. These promoters offered weekly workshops for the coordinators that provided in-service pedagogical training, evaluation, and class preparation, including how to create collective texts, photo-stories, and use

indigenous art forms in the learning process. With the coordinators' low level of literacy, teaching manuals proved to be ineffective and thus class simulations were most commonly used to practice teach and to work out problems and possibilities for a class. The experience in the Literacy Crusade emphasized that teacher training must be a priority in order to avoid a mechanical implementation of the dialogical method. To supplement the workshops, popular teachers were also supported through the radio program Puno el Alto (Raised Fist) that communicated orientations, necessary information, and encouragement.

The third task was the implementation of the Popular Basic Education Course with nine intensive sections to develop skills in reading, writing, and mathematical operations. Participants were also to be familiarized with basic concepts in the social sciences, geography, history, and natural sciences and their relation to local problems and tasks. The last three sections were designed to teach specific vocational skills.

Generally, the CEPs are mixed in that they consist of people at all levels and ages, although as the variety increases, additional support for the popular teachers is being required. The subjects are not rigidly separated but are interwoven and based on everyday experiences (Gander, 1983, p. 44). Experience has shown that the program needs to be flexible given the production requirements and social setting in each area, although they do try to meet five days

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reflect on the problems, establish priorities, and draw up plans of action (McLaughlin, 1985, p. 74). The nuclei also provide various courses to the community in specific skills, from woodworking to electrical work, and it is given the task of coordinating the involvement of other local groups or international agencies in the region.

To this point, the responsibility for popular adult education has solely resided with the state with input from the mass organizations. Criticisms have surfaced over creeping `schoolization' and bureaucratization of adult education and has caused the state functionaries to reassess the program and develop initiatives to reduce state control. An excerpt of a speech by Eduardo Baez, Director of the Adult Basic Education Program, lucidly reveals this awareness.

> We are in a process of self-criticism. We are now having to recognize that there is a crisis in our program and that we've gotten away from many of the basic conceptions in our concern to make our program `school like'. The most telling reality is that there are serious motivational problems among both teachers and students...
>
> Too often those of us employed as educators forget that the success of our program depends on people's commitment, as both teachers and learners....on the organization and mobilization of people....
>
> But we have a problem. In spite of a commitment to popular education, we have run into problems because we set up an administrative structure that works against these principles and that is linked to a more formal conception of education...
>
> ...Education had become a service, <u>given to</u> the people, rather than <u>coming from</u> the people....
>
> ...we have lost the political conception of the program as a mobilizer and instead taken up a narrow pedagogical one. Shouldn't it be the opposite, that the formal school system must be

> transformed to take up the thrust of popular education? (Baez, 1986, pp. 1-5).

This questioning culminated in the 1985 workshop 'La Palmera' where the principle decision was to move toward a dynamic transformation of the entire educational system. The Adult Education Program was given responsibility to initiate this process given its experience and reflections on popular education (Chetwynd, 1986, p. 4). This process has resulted in some very creative experiments that represent a transition toward the goals of the New Education.

The overall goal is to coordinate and systematize the popular adult education practice in Nicaragua and to promote the integration of popular education as the conceptual base into all education efforts and development efforts (Silva, 1986, p. 2). To this end, a Centre for Popular Education and Participation is being established that will be autonomous from the Ministry of Education structure. It will have an advisory council with representatives from various mass organizations, agencies, and institutions active in popular education.

A wide range of national, regional, and local projects, including various experimental schools, have been established. They seek to relate production knowledge that is relevant to, and in some cases produced by, the users. One example is the Agricultural Popular Education Collectives, Peasant Agricultural Schools, Science and Production Projects, and Rural Schools for Work-Study (ERET) that all seek to increase the understanding of the relation

between scientific study and their ability to practically respond to production and community needs (Silva, 1986, p. 2). For instance, projects attempt to determine how to make use of waste from harvested sugar cane, how to purify water in areas without running water, and to devise alternative energy sources, such as windmills and solar energy. The attempt has been to integrate the process of adult education to the production process and everyday life.

Assessment of Popular Adult Education in Nicaragua

Assessing the relation between democracy and adult education in a transitional society revolves around the question of state formation. The Sandinistas' moral authority over the social fabric could be entrenched and lead to the bureaucratization of the state. This process would run counter to their stated goals of democratization through popular participation.

State education has always been used as a form of social control, ideological training, and skill formation that responds to labour market needs. The momentum of the consciousness of Nicaraguans, who now recognize themselves as a society and are attempting to reorganize it, can easily rigidify into perpetual state-controlled transformation. The pertinent question then, is "under whose auspices should education be carried out?" This question precedes another, "whose interests is popular adult education serving?" The control of education and the provision of educational resources are directly related to whose interests are being

served. This notion of control, of popular control or control by the 'people', is the fundamental principle of the Nicaraguan Revolution that consistently undercuts the Nicaraguan notion of insurrection, of participation, of democratic transition to socialism, and of popular adult education.

In a capitalist state, education is controlled throughout by the dominant classes, no matter how high the quality of the program is or how widely accessible it is. Education that has been relegated to a function of the state, namely schooling, is a relatively new creation of the nineteenth century that corresponded with industrialization. State education has been created by the bourgeoisie for their own interests, primarily capital accumulation (Carnoy, 1974, p. 24). It is a powerful force of production which it influences by defining reality, developing uniform, 'modern' skills (including mass literacy), and restricting the flow of labour into the marketplace. This discussion, then, does not consider issues of curriculum, pedagogy, program planning, teacher training, program implementation, or policy making as central. These aspects of education are simply the perceptible appearances of a system that seeks to conceal the real social relations (Bowles, Gintis, 1976, p. 127).

More importantly, if these aspects are controlled, planned, and administered by the state on behalf of any class, no amount of consultation or input from teachers,

students, or the 'public' will ever make it a democratic or popular educational process. The problematic of education as 'schooling' is one aspect of the problematic of state control of education, whether in capitalist states or socialist nations.

The class struggle within education is not only reflected in the debate over the role of formal schooling or popular adult education and the provision of scientific technical training or political education, but fundamentally it is a struggle between the mass organizations and the state. The struggle does not align itself along typical class lines within the popular working class but arises out of a fear of a growing 'state class' that institutionalizes an education system to serve its needs as divorced from the needs of the popular working class. A state has the freedom to project statements that define what is real (Corrigan, Sayer, 1985, p. 142) and thus, the Sandinista state can claim that their interests are the embodiment of the mass interests. Thus, the crucial function of the mass organizations must be to remain alert by constantly asserting their definition of reality and consolidating their control over previously state-controlled functions. The future test for popular adult education, will be based on whether or not it is a state-defined reality, how the state receives and heeds internal criticism that express the desires of a maturing popular working class (particularly when it departs from state desires), and the response of the

mass organizations to this reception.

To this point in Nicaragua's revolutionary transformation, it appears that the state has difficulty separating the administrative tasks from the political tasks. For instance, if it persists in increasing the burden of administrative tasks for popular teachers and mass organizations, this will effectively neutralize the enthusiasm and energy spent on creative programming and in learning situations.

The concern over bureaucratic detail is indicative of the inability to let control over popular adult education devolve to the mass organizations. In some cases, the organizational abilities and class consciousness of the mass organizations appear to be beyond state expectations and thus they seem to be hesitant to restore democratic control to the people. Education should not be considered a concession or benefit but a right of all people, and thus, when they express the desire to control local adult education programming, the state should respond immediately and positively. If they do not so respond, the people will begin to consider the state rather than themselves as the controllers of education and this is likely to result in popular apathy.

Similarly, the concern with statistics, certification of students and teachers, and centralized, standardized curriculum planning is further evidence that the model of schooling is inhibiting the consideration of new models

beyond the original literary crusade model. Although the Literary Crusade was a mobilizational and participatory model, it has little potential for perpetuity. Hence, as Coraggio earlier suggested, a social pedagogy is required where a theoretical approach can assist the development of new adult education practices.

The role of the state must be the subject of transformation. Its role in the transition should be one of coordination and support to the local organizations. Even though state functionaries are beginning to question their role, in the face of evidence regarding hints of mass demobilization, it is still state initiatives and decision making that are implemented. This situation also underlines the crucial task of constructing revolutionary and participatory hegemony by allowing channels for decision making and participation. State guidance in providing a theoretical approach will assist local organizations in designing or choosing approaches most amenable to their class interests.

Finally, by developing adult education programs that are not integrated to production and mass organizational needs is to perpetuate the depoliticization and retard the socialization of education. Popular control over educational decisions and implementation will naturally result in the integration of education with production and all other community concerns. A state cannot decree that adult education be merged with production without compromising the

integrity of a participatory process that is enactive rather than reactive.

Nicaragua has sought to create a nation of democratic popular power that translates into a web of mass organizations. The relationship between the mass organizations and the state is pivotal, as education in capitalist states, has been primarily state-controlled with a comparatively small network of private schools to supplement it. This model influenced pre-revolutionary education in Nicaragua. In order to establish the democratic foundations for a transition to socialism, a form of adult education that is consistent with the revolutionary goals is necessary. The broad outline of these goals has already been nationally articulated as being creative, critical, democratic, participatory, and liberational. But, particularly in 1984-1985, a crisis occurred in the dynamism of popular adult education. This thesis attempted to present additional reflections to the Nicaraguan self-critique by suggesting that the fundamental educational crisis lies in the future formation of the state and its relationship with the mass organizations. This is the pivotal social relation upon which the present popular, adult educational services are predicated.

In the struggle against domination, state control of education must be broken in order to provide an opening for mass participation and ownership to prevent a new form of domination. A new popular state must emerge that values

diversity and is critical of normative models. But this can only be ensured in the event of political pressure from the mass organizations. As Robert Saenz concisely writes, "The project of permanent adult education can only be achieved if it is the people who teaches [sic] the people through existing organizations of the masses" (Saenz, 1982, p. 21). This is the simple thesis offered herein.

Nicaragua's popular adult education is an crucial gauge for the possibility of democratizing Nicaraguan society in anticipation of the transition to socialism. The mere establishment of such a program itself can be considered a success given the constraints of a brutal counterrevolutionary war, demoralizing economic crisis, antagonistic elite reactions, and severe shortages of local resources. In these circmstances, the existence of such a program appears an even more a laudable anomaly despite the social climate of change, creativity, and flexibility. The Sandinista state has made education a priority that is pivotal to the overall effectiveness of a transition process. The future effectiveness of the popular adult education program lies in the assertive dynamism of mass organizations fully conscious of their historic role.

Research Possibilities

The revolutionary potential and implications of this proposition are currently being explored in Nicaragua and hence the possibilities for future research are exciting and promise to be fruitful, with the proviso that the demands of

external research must respect the process of internal research development. With regard to popular adult education, the whole process of state/mass organization negotiation, that either will result in devolving responsibility to the mass organizations or in creeping bureaucratization, needs to be documented to determine the future tendencies of these embryonic changes. The role and operations of the new Centre for Popular Education and Participation also needs to be documented and assessed. The transformation of the formal educational system and its relationship to popular adult education would be an exceedingly interesting study. And finally, a review that systematizes and analyzes all of the previous conceptual studies on Nicaraguan popular adult education methodology and practice, will further discern the tendencies of popular education within the overall revolutionary transformation.

Conclusion

The Nicaragua Revolution has contributed a wealth of experience for the theory regarding transition to socialism. The Sandinistas' awareness of the limitations of an universal model for revolution and socialist transition within their historical context, has resulted in immense creativity in initiating the revolution and in the attempt to take it to its final conclusion. This revolutionary praxis has been carried into the building of a new society. It was concluded that Nicaragua is presently establishing the democratic foundations for a transition to socialism.

Through the internal relations perspective, social relations were considered the essence of society and thus, the political and the economic were seen not as two separate spheres but as different manifestations of societal relations. Using this approach, the relationship of the state to the mass organizations was identified as a key relation in the process of democratization and the possibility for a transition of socialism. It was asserted that new societal relations cannot be developed unless the people themselves assume responsibility for all sectors of societal life. The question is not just what interests are represented in all sectors of society, but, ultimately and crucially, how they are represented (Molyneux, 1986, p. 300). If the popular working class is assuming societal control, then limits will be placed on the function of the state, including its involvement in popular adult education. The people themselves will increasingly exercise decision making responsibilities through decentralized mechanisms, namely the mass organizations.

The implications of this process with regards to popular adult education focusses on the formation of the state, as the capitalist legacy in Nicaragua is one of state-controlled schooling and privately-controlled schooling in the interests of the dominant class. Popular adult education developed as part of the revolutionary strategy that conscientized the oppressed classes and mobilized them toward revolutionary action. Within

Nicaragua's transitional society, the transformation towards the popular class assuming responsibility for making decisions about their education and implementing them, will relate adult education directly to production and community needs.

Learning is a natural human attribute, but it has been utilized as a form of control oriented towards consolidating bourgeois economic interests. Restoring the human learning process directly back into the control of the people through the mass organizations will help reduce the use of adult education for domination. Should Sandinista Nicaragua continue to move in this direction, it will be a significant contribution as a democratic model for the role of adult education in the transition to socialism. The search will continue to be for societal forms, including a new educational and state form, that will help transform society and facilitate democratized socialism.

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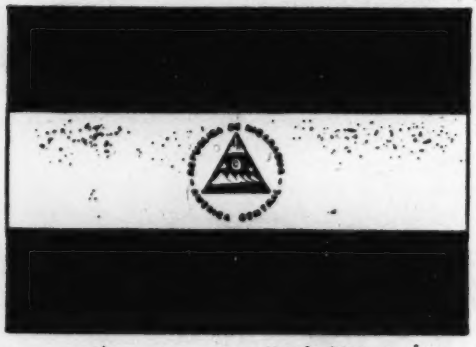
Appendix

THE SUNRISE OF THE PEOPLE

A SANDINISTA EDUCATION WORKBOOK FOR READING AND WRITING



NATIONAL LITERACY CRUSADE
HEROES AND MARTYRS
FOR NICARAGUA'S LIBERATION
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
REPUBLIC OF NICARAGUA
1980

1.- Let's read the sentence.

A real democracy is the expression of the power of the organized masses.

2.- Let's read the underlined word several times.

power

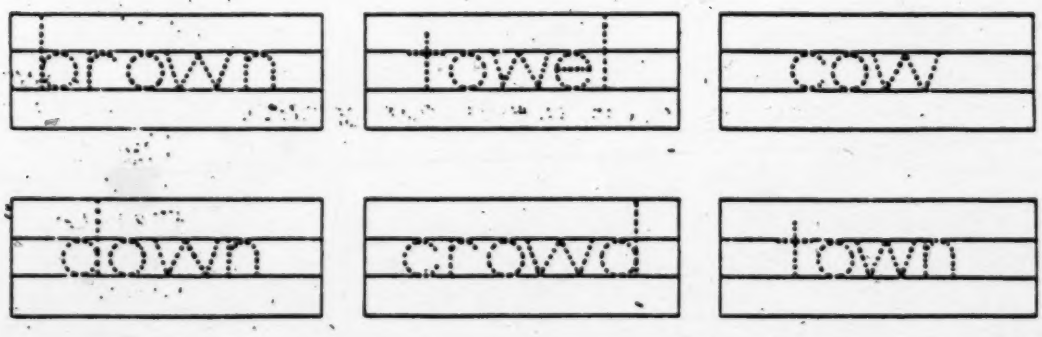
3.- Listen to these words. Then, read the words with the teacher.

cow	sow	down	town	brown
crown	crowd	tower	towel	flower

4.- Let's look at these words more carefully. Circle the parts which are the same. Underline the parts which are different.

cow	sow	down	town	brown
crown	crowd	tower	towel	flower

5.- Let's write these words following the dotted lines. Then, practice writing them without the dotted lines.



6.- Let's read and write sentences containing some of these words.

A big crowd defended the town.

The downtown area was under control.

Democracy is the power of the people.

The organized masses are more powerful today.

7.- Match the words in each column with the same word in the sentences.

A big crowd defended the town.

defended
the
crowd
A
town
big

The downtown area was under control.

area
was
downtown
The
control
under

Democracy is the power of the people.

the
power
of
Democracy
people
the
is

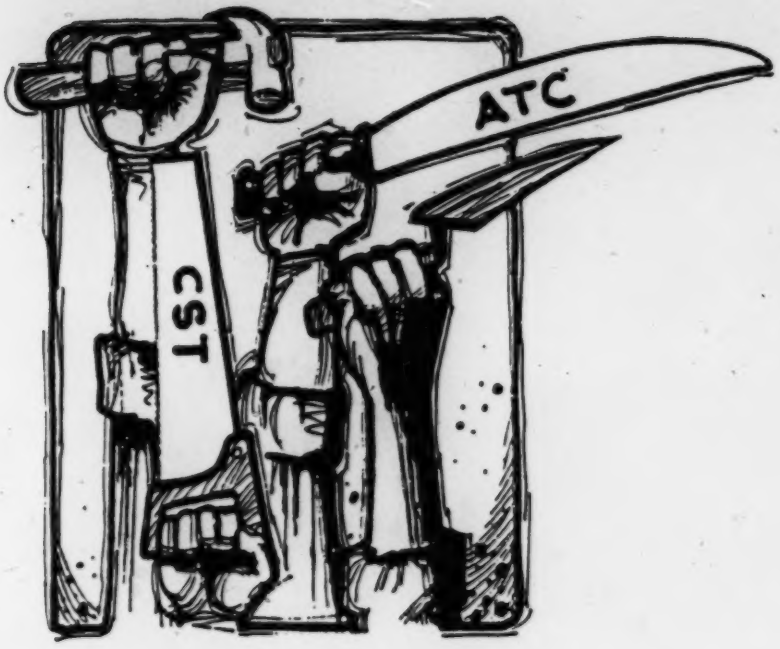
8. Write down the sentence the teacher dictates to you.

THE SUNRISE OF THE PEOPLE

Teacher's Guide

NATIONAL LITERACY CRUSADE
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

THEME NUMBER 21



A REAL DEMOCRACY IS THE EXPRESSION OF THE POWER OF THE ORGANIZED MASSES

Somoza often talked about democracy and he thought of himself as the great symbol of Latin American democracy. But the facts is that the power was in the hands of a few traitors and exploiters who only cared about their own interests.

With the triumph of the Sandinista Popular Revolution a real democracy based on the growing power of the working classes began to take shape for the first time. This Revolution was definitely not made just so that our people could vote in elections once every four or six years. This Revolution, which cost so many lives, was made to give the oppressed majorities the privilege of exercising their rights every day and in all places.

Our vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and the Government of National Reconstruction, are democratic because their laws and programs represent and guarantee the interests of the historically oppressed majority.

Our vanguard and our government are democratic because they

promote the organization of the ordinary people so that they may participate directly and actively, through the exercise of their power, in the National Reconstruction Programs. They are democratic because they guarantee for these people the right to education, to health services and housing, things that Somoza had always denied them.

Our vanguard and our government are democratic because they promoted the literacy campaign, and continue to promote the training and organization of all Nicaraguans. This is done so that the people will be able to distinguish clearly what the interests of the masses are, who their real friends are, and which leaders are true revolutionaries. If the ordinary people are not conscious of their reality, or are not literate and organized, they can easily be manipulated by small groups of traitors and exploiters.

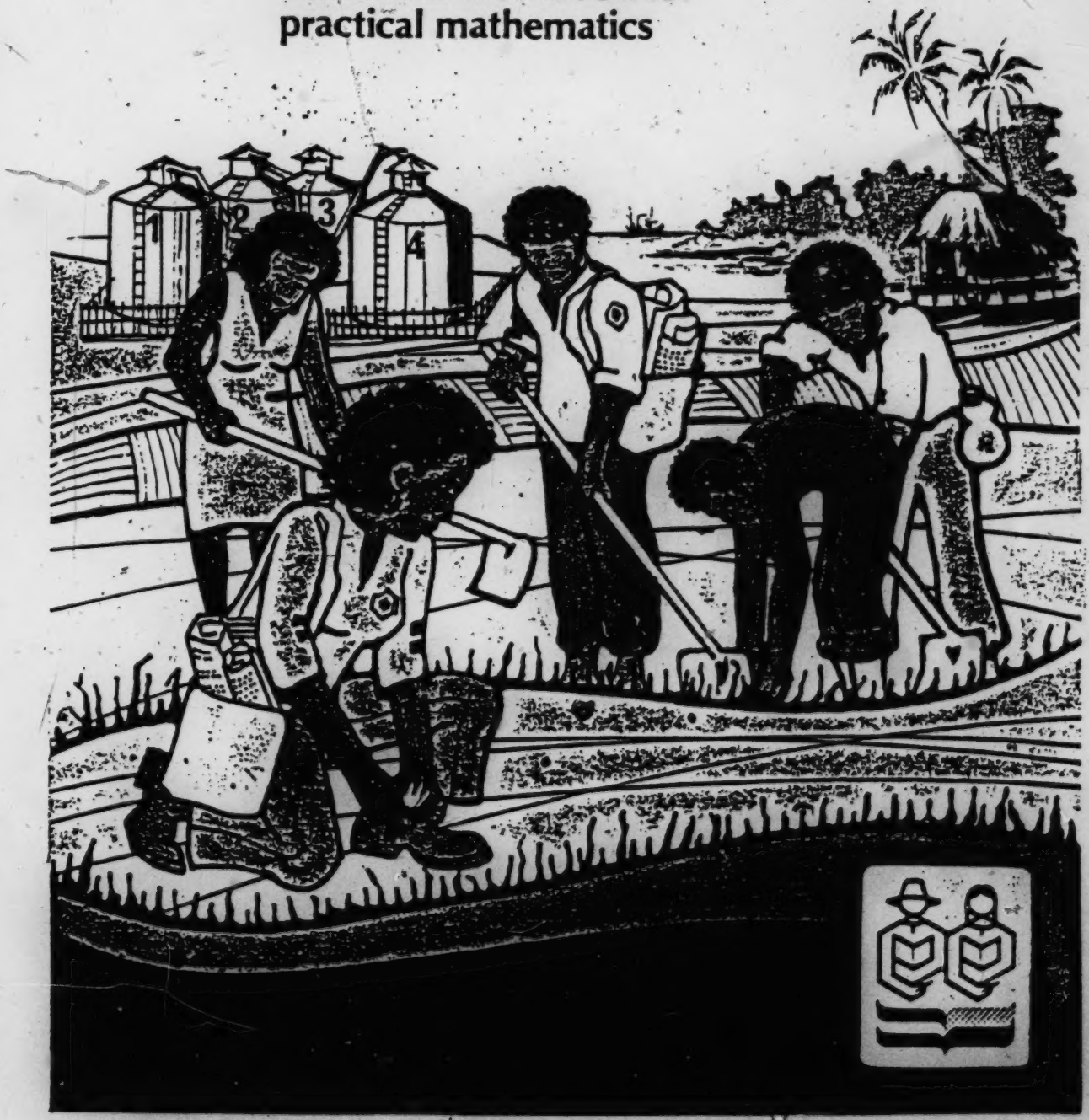
A country is not made democratic just by laws and decrees. Democracy is achieved when the right conditions are created so that ordinary people can directly exercise their power and participate in decision making through their different organizations under the leadership of the Revolutionary Vanguard. And this is the historical task of our vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and of our people's revolutionary organizations, such as the Farmers' Association, the Union of Sandinista Workers, the Nicaraguan Women's Association "Luisa Amanda Espinoza", the Sandinista Defensa Committees, the Nicaraguan National Association of Educators, and the Sandinista Youth "19 of July".

Questions for discussion:

1. What characteristics should a true democracy have?
2. Why is it that traditional election systems don't necessarily guarantee democracy?
3. Why is true democracy considered the power of the organized people?
4. In what way is the organization of the ordinary people important.
5. What concrete problems are holding back the process of democratic practice? What are the causes of these problems?
6. What is the role played by our vanguard, the FSLN, to facilitate people really exercising power?
7. How do you exercise democratic organization in your neighborhood or work centers?

Mathematics to Reactivate the Economy

Sandinista workbook for practical mathematics



EXERCISE 9

1. Let's observe the drawing.

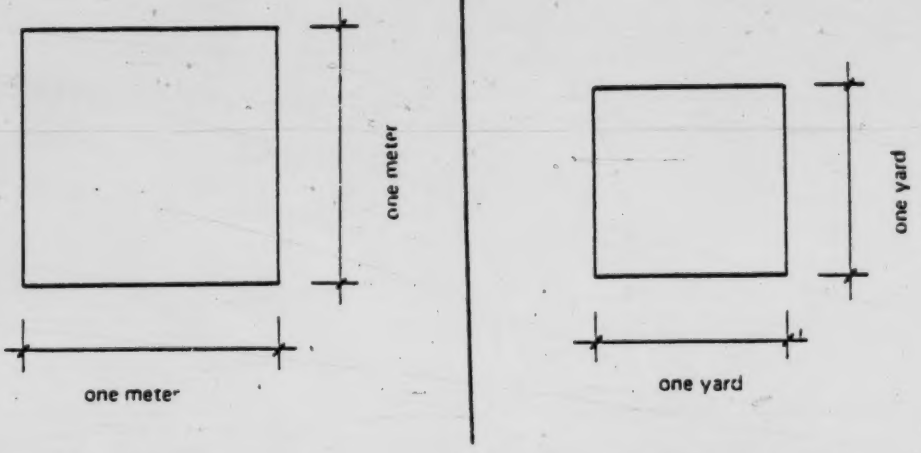
2. Let's read.

The farmer works the land.
Land is measured by hectares.
One can also measure land by "manzanas".
Lots are measured by square feet.
Lots are also measured by square yards.

1. Ask the learners to observe the drawing. Now start a conversation based on the drawing.

2. Read the sentences. Now ask: "How do you measure large extensions of land? "How are small extensions of land measured?".

3. Let's observe the drawings and read:



One square meter one square yard.

4. Let's read.

In one hectare there are 10 thousand square meters, a little less than 12 thousand square yards.

In one "manzana" there are 10 thousand square yards.

One hectare is larger than one "manzana".

In one "manzana" there are four 50-yard tasks.

In one "manzana" there are sixteen 25-yard tasks.

3. Ask the learners to observe drawing "a". Read and explain to them that a square meter is a square of one meter of sides. Ask them to observe drawing "b". Explain that one yard is less than one meter, therefore, one square meter is more than one square yard. It might be helpful to say that one yard has three feet.

2. Read the sentences. Ask, "How many square yards are there in one "manzana?" "How many 50-yard tasks are there in one manzana?" "Which is larger, an hectare or a "manzana"?.

THEME NUMBER 3

"We are not birds who live in the air,
We are not fish who live in the sea
We are men who live from the earth".

Bernardino Díaz Ochoa

Nicaragua is mainly an agricultural country. Our principal source of wealth is land. Because of this, the Sandinista Popular Revolution plans to transform the structures of land ownership and use which have for so long prevented agricultural development. This is necessary to satisfy the needs of our people.

Thus, one of the main tasks of our Revolution is to carry out an effective agrarian reform which will give back to our people the land that had been controlled by imperialism and the Somoza Dictatorship.

The agrarian reform program has several objectives:

1) To change inadequate and unjust forms of land-holding and organization of agricultural production so as to satisfy our people's needs for food, raw materials for industry and products for export. The latter will enable us to buy other merchandise which we need but cannot produce in our country.

2) To consolidate our revolutionary process in the countryside so that the working class, through organization and study, can direct the course of the Revolution. The Revolution will then be able to raise the material, as well as the cultural level, of all Nicaraguans.

An agrarian reform law has been elaborated which attempts to fulfill these objectives. One of the first things that the law has done is to provide for the nationalization of the following properties:

a. agricultural land held by Somoza family and close associates. All of this land is now a collective inheritance of the people.

b. property of landowners in debt to state-financed institutions who benefited by their connections with Somoza.

c. property of tax evaders

d. public land that was granted by Somoza to his cronies.

e. land that has been abandoned.

The new State represents the interests of the people, above all the rural and urban working class. Since it has the support of the people the State can administer, with their help, all of the lands now owned collectively by the Nicaraguan people.

The National Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA) is in charge of directing this great task of transforming the land for the people's benefit.

INRA (Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria) is not a landlord; it is just the opposite. It is an institution of the government and State controlled by the people. Its purpose, far from going against the interests of the people, is that of defending them through its policies. The benefits of the agrarian reform such as financial resources, technical advice and seeds for farming as well as resources for improving health and education in the rural communities, are only possible through increased production and better organization.

The Association of Farmworkers (ATC) plays a very important role in making these changes possible. Every farmworker must know the conditions of the farm where he is working so that he can help to resolve any problems in production.

There are farmworkers who have very little land and therefore produce very little. Historically they have been scattered throughout the countryside. By promoting cooperatives the agrarian reform will try to resolve the problems caused by this isolation. Small parcels of land will be given to each farmworker and his family in order to satisfy their needs and establish collective enterprises. Production will be planned according to the country's needs, that is, it will be planned with the idea of solving social problems rather than individual problems.

The more we work to increase production, the more development we will see and, thus, more wealth will be produced. Through increasing the production we consolidate the Revolution.

ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

1. What problems does the Agrarian Reform Law have to resolve in order to meet the needs of our people?
2. What are the objectives of the Agrarian Reform Program?
3. What should be the people's participation in the agrarian reform process?
4. What land has been taken or is being taken over by the people through INRA?
5. How should farmworkers collaborate with INRA?

THEME NUMBER 4

WORKERS AND FARMERS UNITED WILL PRODUCE ENOUGH TO SATISFY THE NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE

The victory of Juiy 19, 1979 was the result of a decisive alliance made up of two fundamental groups: the workers in the countryside (farmers) and the workers in the cities. Sandino once said, "Only the workers and the farmers will fight 'til the end". The FSLN understood this many years ago. It structured the struggle against the Somoza Dictatorship by helping workers and farmers organize to fight for their rights. The programs of the FSLN always represented the interests of these two groups.

Before July 19, the struggle was to overthrow the Dictatorship. Now the struggle is to rebuild Nicaragua by increasing production and reactivating the economy in order to meet the basic needs of the people.

In this phase of the struggle it is the task of the farmers and workers united to lead the efforts to rebuild Nicaragua.

Without this unity we cannot upgrade our economy. The farmers, with their work in agriculture, produce the food that the workers in the cities eat. On the other hand, the workers in the cities contribute to the welfare of the farmers. They produce clothing, shoes, construction materials and many other things which the farmers need.

The greatest responsibility for reconstruction lies with the workers and farmers. The FSLN and the National Reconstruction Government know that they are the ones who produce all our riches. They are also the ones who have to make a greater effort and are subjected to more sacrifices during this period. This is necessary so that in the future all the needs of our people can be met. The Sandinista Popular Revolution depends on the workers and farmers because it is a revolution of the workers and farmers.

That is why we say that the organized working people are the main foundation for the building of the new Nicaragua. Workers and farmers must build their unity so that the Revolution can move forward. The guidelines for this task are found in the Sandinista popular organizations such as the CST (Sandinista Workers Union) and the ATC (Association of Farmworkers). These organizations are committed to the interests of the people and the Revolution and they follow the orientations of their Vanguard, the FSLN, and of the National Reconstruction Government.

ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

1. What is the relationship between the workers' and farmers' struggle which led to the triunph of the Revolution and the role that the workers and farmers are playing in Reconstruction?
2. Why is the unity of the working class important in order to increase production?
3. What is the role of the workers and farmers within the Economic Reactivation Plan?
4. Where do working people find support and guidance for the great task that they have to accomplish?
5. What work is being done by the Sandinista popular organizations in your area or community?

THEME NUMBER 5

Let's work in an organized way. Working in the industries which now belong to us and are administered by the State, is how we will improve our standard of living.

The "Area of People's Property" (Area de Propiedad del Pueblo) constitutes a new sector in the Nicaraguan economy. Such a thing was not possible before the triumph of the Sandinista Popular Revolution. The Somoza regime controlled the economy according to the interests of US imperialism and its allies within Nicaragua. They were the ones who became rich through a systematic exploitation of the working class.

After the triumph of the Revolution, under the leadership of its Vanguard, the FSLN, the properties of Somoza and his cronies were nationalized and are now controlled by the people. The new State administers them for the benefit of the working people. The presence of the Area of People's Property in Nicaragua is something completely new. For the first time in their history, the people are owners of the land and factories that before were in the hands of Somoza's partisans.

The sectors that have been nationalized and have become part of the Area of People's Property (APP) are not only from the productive industries (farming, factories and mines) but also include such areas as financing, exportation and internal commerce. Several new corporations have been created by the State for administrative purposes. These include COIP (Industrial Corporation), COCOP (Commercial Corporation), COTRAP (Transportation) and INRA (Agriculture). State Corporations also exist in mining, fishing, tourism, forestry and services. 1980 will not be a good year for profit in the APP. This is due to the problems inherited from the Somoza regime.

Some of these problems are bankruptcy and a lack of technical, administrative and financial resources to increase production. Production within the agricultural corporation (INRA) has been severely limited because many crops were not planted on time this year. All industries face the problem of acquiring raw materials.